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AL-RAḤMĀN AL-RAḤĪM

It has often been remarked that the Apostle's Creed bridges with no more than a comma a wealth of truth about Christ, between the clause about His birth and the clause about His suffering. It is a pause which the Christian mind with longer range of movement than a credal summary makes a place for grateful recollection of mighty deeds and matchless words. Where the credal statement hastens and is brief, the worshipping devotion lingers and is full. It finds that comma stretching all the rich and crowded way from Bethlehem to the Cross. The words of the One born to be the Word and the life which perfected its purpose in the climax of suffering unto death are implicit in the single comma. To have made them explicit would have transformed the Creed into the Gospels—which was not its function. So the comma stands, marking an eloquent, not an empty, pause.

There is surely a similar hiatus between the two descriptives of the Muslim *Basmalah,* the great sentence which hallows the life of Islam and introduces every Surah of the Qur'ān save Surah ix: "In the name of God AL RAHMĀN AL RAḤĪM." "The Compassionate, the Merciful" is the familiar translation. Grammarians and commentators have not been unanimous as to the precise connotation of these two derivatives of the single root RḤM. Why should there be two? Do they merely repeat each other or is there a progression in significance?

Venturing perhaps where the wary fear to tread, we may boldly suppose that there is. What may grammatically be arguable is theologically evident. Some measure of nounal quality must be understood in the first, AL-RAHMĀN—a word which, apparently of Hebrew origin, seems to have been used by the Prophet in his early preaching as a substantive for God. The second, then, is an adjectival intensification of the first. "The compassionate Compassionator" as the Encyclopedia of Islam proposes to render it.

While both terms, within Muslim thought, must refer to God's active doing and not to the impenetrable mystery of His nature and essence, it may be fair to see in AL-RAHMĀN that which describes the constant quality of the Merciful One and in AL-RAḤĪM that which denotes the actual bestowal of His mercy. "The Mercy-er mercy-ing"

might then become an English rendering. There is that by which God is merciful in Himself and that by which He is known to be merciful in our experience. Al-Baiḍāwī, prince of commentators, hints as much when he claims that the first word comprehends God's mercy (potential) towards all mankind, while the second indicates His mercy actually bestowed upon believers only. If the descriptives were turned into abstract nouns, their meaning would be mercy as a property, in the fine old English phrase, and mercy as a deed.

What then? Is this so much editorial subtlety? Hardly. For if AL-RAHMĀN AL-RAHĪM be so, then the *waṣla* between them is scarcely less tremendous than the credal comma with which we began. What deep and searching questions belong to that transition. How? where? when? is the mercy implicit in God operative toward man? It is clear that Christianity sets Christ Himself where that pause in the *Basmalah* stands. Would that we might communicate to all Islam how Christ is to us that focal point where mercy as it is in God becomes mercy as it is known by men, where God meets man in grace and man finds God in forgiveness, where pardon is received in the soul because it originates in God, where He Who is the RAHMĀN comes near as the RAHĪM.

How relevant is the Christian understanding of Christ to the Muslim understanding of God! For that mercy, how does it take action? How does it relate itself to what, apart from it, is undone? By Incarnation? Where does it bring itself into efficacious contact with the sin it pities? Through redemption and the Cross? Why not? How otherwise? When is the RAHMĀN the RAHĪM? Sometimes or always? discriminately or universally? conditionally or graciously? inscrutably or reliably? All these questions belong inescapably to the sequence of the two descriptives. The Christian believes them answered in Christ, where the mercy which is God's abiding principle of relationship with man becomes the redemptive means to man's forgiven fellowship with God, where the RAHMĀN is perfectly the RAHĪM. "God," proclaimed St. Paul, "was in Christ"—Christ the Divine Compassionator's Compassion, God's mercy active and victorious in One Who was born of Mary and suffered under Pontius Pilate. In Him we know that a universal mercy is enthroned in Heaven: in Him we see that mercy accomplishing its earthly task.

Does it seem strange to us to find Christ and Him crucified at the heart of the *Basmalah*. Would it not be stranger were it otherwise? But thinking of Islam, how shall we interpret the unknown in the well-known, the silence in the Name?

THE BIBLE IN PAKISTAN AND IRAN

PAKISTAN

Out of the 35 million people in West Pakistan, 97 per cent are Muslims, and of the latter 90 per cent are illiterate. 80 per cent live in villages in little mud huts, without any architectural plan. Most of the huts are built by the women, with the help of one or two neighbours. Their cattle, when they have any, usually live in these mud huts too. These villagers are almost all agriculturists, and often do not see any cash. The average earning capacity per head per day is less than 4 annas (or 8 cents).

One half per cent of the total population is Christian, among whom also 90 per cent are illiterate and 80 per cent living in villages and earning less than 4 annas per day per head. Most of the Christians live in the Punjab, as details later will show. There is great missionary enterprise, and in spite of the pressure of the overwhelming majority of Muslims, the Christian community is steadily pressing forward. Since independence in 1947, over 5,000 persons have been baptized. Recently new areas are showing much interest in the Gospel.

The 'lingua franca' over a large part of Pakistan is Urdu, and this language is specially used in the Punjab, along with the colloquial Punjabi. Both are written in Persian characters. The Bible in Urdu is available and the present translation (revised in 1933) is considered as good, but in parts difficult for the common people. There is only the New Testament in Punjabi, which was revised last year. The translation of the Old Testament in Punjabi is in progress and a good part is ready. The Punjabi Psalms translated in lyrics form the hymnary of the Church and are loved by all. A good many illiterate people can sing all the Psalms by heart, and will often spend half the night singing them at wedding parties, etc.

There is no other Muslim country in the world in which there are over 280,000 evangelical Christians, in addition to about 200,000 Roman Catholics. In the Punjab alone there are over 225,000 members of the Protestant churches. In the

Punjab there are three Christian colleges for men and one for women, but in these colleges the percentage of Christian students is under twenty. There are ten Boys', eight Girls' and three Co-educational High Schools. There are also seventeen Middle Schools for girls and two for boys. There is one vocational training school. In a number of these schools a large percentage of students are Muslims, and all these institutions are evangelistic centres. There are also nine hospitals, where the Gospel is preached regularly and Scriptures sold openly. Since such a wonderful set-up is provided in this Muslim land, we feel that everything possible should be done to strengthen the Church in Pakistan. And it is here that the challenge of 90 per cent illiteracy comes to us with great force. We believe that through adult literacy work, and through the primary schools in the villages, of which there is a very serious lack, many Muslims will open to the appeal of the Gospel.

The picture of Sind, Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province is much more barren, and the missionary enterprise much more meagre. In the area of 234,000 square miles, and a population of over 15 million people, there are less than 50,000 Christians, with only four boys' and three girls' schools, one college and four hospitals. Very little evangelistic work is being done in Sind and Baluchistan, but recently a lot more attention has been given to the N.W.F.P. The people in these areas are far more bigoted and ignorant. We have four colporteurs in these areas but the sales are very low. The New Testament in Sindhi (for Sind) and in Pashtu (for N.W.F.P.) are available. The Bible in Sindhi has been translated and is awaiting publication. The Bible in Pashtu was printed in the last century but is no longer available. There is little demand for the Pashtu Bible. Gospel portions are available for Baluchis and Birohis of Baluchistan and tribes. There are literally thousands of miles in Sind and Baluchistan where there is no witness for Christ. Until recently the two states of Bahawalpur and Khairpur were closed to the Gospel, but both these states are now open. A few agricultural labourers (Christians) have gone and settled on land in Bahawalpur, but on the whole there is no preach-

ing of the Gospel done in these two states. Many missionaries could be absorbed in Sind, Baluchistan and the surrounding areas.

There are comparatively few paid national evangelists, because out of the small percentage of literate Christians, we draw the pastors, schoolmasters, schoolmistresses, nurses and government servants. As literacy advances, I feel sure that more and more national evangelists will be available. Also, as it has been stated a large majority of the Christians live in villages, living in very backward conditions, and therefore are afraid of new places and new ideas.

In the midst of these circumstances, the chief task of the Bible Society has been forward evangelism—to enter into new fields, to organise Scripture selling campaigns from village to village and preaching in market places to the illiterates. Also it has been our privilege to unite the missionary effort by giving special help in evangelism to some neglected areas. Recently we were able to go as a team of 36 people in two areas in Sind, with marked results of deep interest in the Gospel and turning to Christ of fourteen villages. There is still need of colporteurs in the unevangelised areas, but owing to lack of funds it has not been possible to engage more men. Even the big cities like Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Rawalpindi and others are not properly covered by anyone who sells Scriptures from door to door. But wherever evangelistic work, preaching and selling of Gospel portions is being done, the doors are wide open. There is a good demand for popular good literature, but little is available at present. The buying capacity of the people is low and the production costs are high, and therefore little gets done.

CHANDU RAY

IRAN

In the interval between the Islamic advent and the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the British and Foreign Bible Society started work in Persia, various attempts were made towards putting the Scriptures into the Persian language. We have lately come across a translation of the Four Gospels into Persian in the twelfth century. A

Catholic priest by the name of Giuseppe Messina came across this in the Bibliotheca Mediceoe Laurentinnanae et Palatinae, Florence, and he had it printed by the "Pontificio Instituto Biblico" at Rome. It is a translation from "Theriaque Diatessaron," a name which means "The Four put together." A Christian by the name of Tatianus prepared this in the second century and in his preface says that by putting the Four Gospels together he has not left out 'one word.' We intend to give this translation much publicity in this country, knowing that it will strengthen the Christian position.

On my way back from England last year I stopped in Paris for a while and studied some Persian manuscripts at the "Bibliothèque Nationale." It was a joy to discover that in the year 1640 Nadir Shah, the reigning Persian monarch of the time, had ordered that the Bible should be translated for him without note or comment. Accordingly the best Christian and Hebrew scholars were commissioned to carry out this order. I saw at this Library what was called "The Nadir's translation of the Pentateuch," a brilliantly prepared volume, with decorations in gold and in beautiful Persian handwriting. I also saw a copy of Nadir Shah's translation of the Four Gospels, besides various other renderings into Persian of the books of Psalms, Proverbs Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ruth, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations. In the history of Nadir's life and wars we find the following note: "Nadir ordered Mirza Mehdi Khan Isfahani to refer to the Jews and Christians to get him a translation of the Bible. . . . Mirza Mehdi Khan came to Kazvin (Persia) with seven of the leading scholars, made a complete translation of these books (the Bible) and personally presented it to Nadir Shah." In the presence of Christian priests this translation was read out to Nadir.

When Henry Martyn came to Iran at the beginning of the nineteenth century he was not aware of these translations and with undaunted devotion and untiring labours he translated the New Testament afresh and presented a hand-written copy to the reigning monarch of the time. Henry Martyn's labours mark the new era of Bible work in this country. Following his labours, other Church Missionary Society missionaries translated the Old Testament and in the year 1895

Dr. Bruce of the C.M.S. completed a revision of the whole Persian Bible, which is the edition now in use in Persia.

The British and Foreign Bible Society subsidized the publication of Henry Martyn's New Testament in the year 1814, helped with the publication of various other editions in the course of years and for the last 70 years has maintained an Agency in Persia. Whereas nothing had been done towards the circulation of the Scriptures before the 19th century in this country, the Bible Society colporteurs in the course of these years have made the Bible the most widely-known book through the length and breadth of this land. Altogether over 1,600,000 volumes have been distributed. If these books could speak we could hear thousands upon thousands of voices telling us of the spiritual benefits they have brought to the people of this country. The favour with which Christianity is looked upon is in no small measure due to the wide dissemination of the Word of God. And numerous converts throughout all these years have attributed their first interest in the Christian faith to the reading of the Bible.

In the beginning of things the work of the colporteurs was no easy task. They were much persecuted and were constantly working at the risk of their lives. The pioneer colporteurs of the Bible Society were men of great courage and strong faith. Everywhere they prepared the way for the coming of the missionaries. The Society has today some twelve of these colporteurs who are stationed in Teheran, the capital, and all over the country. From their centres they take itineraries to all the towns and villages of their districts, endeavouring to visit all the streets, markets, bazaars, shops and as many homes as possible. So the Bible is brought to the door-step of all who wish to buy and at a price which they can pay.

Following the Second World War and until recently we had a great deal of freedom in the distribution of the Scriptures. But since the oil trouble started the tide has been turning against us. Under normal conditions we could sell as many as from 40,000 to 50,000 copies per annum but the sales in 1952 dropped to some 22,000 volumes. We have had no hindrances officially from the government but with the great

anti-foreign feeling prevalent, the people, especially in the provinces, have looked on our work as something foreign. To prevent agitations we have been working with tact and caution. Economic difficulties, the disturbed state of people's minds and the bulk of propaganda material available have also contributed to the smaller number of sales. But we are certain that this will be a passing phase and that we shall again be able to enjoy full freedom in our work.

But public interest in Christianity has not receded. One evidence before us is the public evangelistic service held this last Christmas by the Evangelical Church in Teheran. About one thousand invitation cards were distributed and advertisements appeared on two successive days in two of the capital's leading papers. All those interested were invited to attend the Christmas service. The result was that the church was packed and many were standing at the back. A sermon was given on "The Place of Christ in the Life and Literature of Iran" which was greatly appreciated; choirs from the church and church school sang hymns and a nativity film was also shown. There was no disturbance whatsoever; the message was heard with reverence and interest. Over five hundred men and women were present, by far the majority being Muslims. We shook hands with them all as they left the church and there was not a single person who did not voice his appreciation. A Christian message was also given to a group of over a hundred Muslim girls. You could not have wished for a more attentive and appreciative audience.

In addition to the sale of Scriptures, the colporteurs of the Bible Society also take part in the Ministry of Witness. The Rev. Theodore Bulbulian of our Teheran staff, together with our Shiraz colporteur, have for some days been visiting homes in the capital, selling books and holding small services of hymn and prayer. This is proving a great blessing to them and to the people visited. Mr. Bulbulian gave about half of his time last year in serving the Teheran Armenian Evangelical Church as pastor. In Resht, North Iran, our colporteur is giving half his time to the work of the local church. In Tabriz, Azerbaidjan, Superintendent-colporteur N. Muradian is doing the same. In Hamadan, old 'Ecbatana,' our col-

porteur, a Kurdish convert, is attending theological classes with a view to training himself better for the task that lies ahead. When circumstances do not allow full-time colportage, opportunities of this kind are not lost sight of and fortunately we have a staff which can serve as colporteur, evangelist or pastor.

Our greatest need in this country, as well as in the other countries of the Middle East, is religious freedom. What is commonplace in the West is something we long for in the East! Officially there is no freedom in Persia for a Muslim to change his faith. The King must be a Shiite Muslim. Prime Ministers and cabinet ministers must hold the same faith. The membership of parliament and all the key posts of influence and leadership are only open to those of the Muslim faith. A convert could lose his social position, his job, his inheritance and many other social advantages. When the Atlantic Charter was signed, insuring freedom of worship, the hearts of many people in these lands were lifted up in the hope of gaining a freedom which is only just and right. But the international policy of 'expediency' again took the lead and we have certainly receded from the freedom we had hoped to gain. It is our earnest hope that in future the principles upheld in the Bible of freedom of all types for all people, can be followed in all international policies and relationships. Towards this the world's statesmen can greatly help.

The Bible portrays a new type of life and that is the secret of the strength of Bible Society work. In this new life lies the hope of the world for peace and prosperity. Only new men can make a new world, and the Bible which we seek to distribute widely can give this New Life. One of our colporteurs writes: "A certain young man by the name of N. . . . is being prepared for baptism. Twenty years ago his father bought a copy of the Bible. One day this young man came across it amongst his father's books and started reading it. 'The more I read,' he exclaimed, 'the more enlightenment of heart and mind I received.' He then decided to come to church and get more instruction. The last time I saw him he remarked: 'It is a real joy to me to have found my Saviour.' He is a teacher in

a Middle School. His sister is also receiving instruction in the Scriptures and they are both being prepared for baptism. Isn't it wonderful that a Bible which was sold twenty years ago can bring forth such fruit?" Another colporteur writes: "A young man came to me and said that he wanted to become a Christian. I asked him how he got interested in our faith. 'A member of our family is now a Christian,' he remarked 'and I have seen such a change in his life and character that I have become interested myself. His wife has given me a copy of the New Testament which I have read with pleasure. I now consider myself a Christian. I told my mother of my newly-found faith and she became very angry, but when I told my father he did not rebuke me.' This young man is now coming to church regularly." These are incidents from our colporteurs' journals recently received. We hear of numerous similar cases in the course of every year.

We carry on in the firm faith that the Bible, and through it Christ, can bring this new life to this ancient land. The greatest literary men of Iran join with us in this faith. There are numerous references to Christ and the life He can give in the literary works of the country. The writers and poets of Iran have given their highest praise to the healing power of Jesus. The following is a tribute to our Lord Jesus Christ as the healer of all that is false in human character. It is by the Persian poet Jami, of the 15th century, and the rendering into English is by the Rev. R. Sharp of the C.M.S.:

"Fair is your frame, but dark and dim your heart,
Discrepancy like this is no man's part,
How is it fit a white man's heart be black?
Be white all through, whatever else you lack.
Leave insincerity to the insincere,
For insincerity is shame that is clear,
Better seek healing of the Christ for He
From this and every fault can set you free."

ADLE NAKHOSTEEN

THE USE OF THE WORD 'ALLAH' IN ENGLISH

The time seems to have come to make a protest against the use of the word 'Allah' in English in connection with Islam. The recent emphasis in missionary thinking on getting alongside the Muslim demands the abandonment of this usage, which tends to widen the gap between Christian and Muslim rather than reduce it, and which in any case appears to be of recent origin.

Many of those who speak about 'Allah' are probably just following what has become a common practice. Some distinguished scholars are included among those who use 'Allah,' so that the advocates of 'Allah' have some authority behind them. Nevertheless the usage appears to have sprung up without any clear consciousness of the reasons for it, and this protest will have been worth while, even if it only makes those who prefer 'Allah' think out more fully their reasons for the choice—and perhaps express them in print for the benefit of others.

The use of the Arabic word is perhaps originally a literary device to give an eastern atmosphere. It has associations with the romantic east of the early nineteenth century. A title such as 'The Garden of Allah' has an appeal that 'The Garden of God' does not have. A publisher of popular novels with the alternative forms 'Allah' and 'God,' will unfailingly choose 'Allah.' But appeal to the cruder strata of Western taste is not a criterion for the missionary who is trying to share the word of life with Muslims.

Most serious writers, however, who use 'Allah' probably do so as a way of saying that they do not accept the claims of Islam, or else, in the case of English-speaking Muslims like Marmaduke Pickthall, as a way of saying that they do accept the claims of Islam. With the motives of Muslims, however, we are not here concerned, but only with those of Christians. Now Christians must certainly make it clear on appropriate occasions that they do not accept the claims of Islam to supersede Christianity. But is the use of the word 'Allah' instead of 'God' a good way of doing so? Is it not based on confusion of thought, on a dangerous subjectivism that is tantamount to a denial of the essential realism of Christianity?

The use of 'Allah' in this way seems to imply that the connotation of the word 'Allah' for the Muslim is different from the connotation of the word 'God' for the Christian (that is, the English-speaking Christian). This is doubtless true; but it is wrong to equate a difference in the connotation of words, that is, in the mental conceptions associated with words, with difference in the objective realities denoted by the words. A man's conception of his wife five or twenty-five years after their marriage is no doubt different from his conception of her on the wedding-day; but that does not annul the marriage,

for it was the woman he married and not the conception. Again, different conceptions of a man are held by his parents, his children, his business associates and the people with whom he plays. But when these people speak about him or think about him, they are all speaking and thinking about one and the same man. Similarly, Muslims and Christians have somewhat different conceptions of God. Nevertheless, when they think or speak about Him, and when they offer worship to Him, the Being to whom their words refer and to whom their worship is offered is one and the same, namely, God.

There is here a principle that is esssential for the Christian. When he speaks about God, he is not speaking about a mere idea. When, in prayer and worship, he speaks to God, that is not merely a subjective experience, but an objective transaction between him and a Being transcending himself. Any other view emasculates the Christian faith. But, if Christianity is to be interpreted in this objective way, is there any justification for applying different principles of interpretation to Islam?

It may be objected that there is a fundamental difference between Christianity and Islam, in that God made a revelation of Himself to the Israelites and Christians, as recorded in the Old and New Testaments, but did not reveal Himself to Muḥammad and the Arabs, despite their claims. Now the second part of this objection raises difficult problems. My own view is that there is so little agreement, even among Christians, about fundamental conceptions like revelation and prophethood, that it is not profitable to discuss publicly whether Muḥammad can be said to be in any sense a prophet. In a small group where there is some consensus about the use of terms a useful statement may perhaps be made, but any public utterance is liable to cause misunderstandings. Let us admit, however, for the sake of argument, that God was not in any way revealing Himself to men in the Qur'ān. The objection still falls to the ground, since, even if the Muslims have no knowledge of God based on direct revelation, they have indirect knowledge of Him based on His revelation of Himself in the Old and New Testaments. Muḥammad and his followers had some knowledge of the beliefs of Jews and Christians. When they used the Arabic word *al-lāh,* they used it to indicate the Being worshipped by Jews and Christians. When they prostrated themselves before *al-lāh,* they intended to acknowledge His glory and majesty. Their conception of God was faulty, but their intention to serve Him cannot be doubted.

Though Christians believe that God's Revelation of Himself in Christ is perfect, is their reception of that Revelation perfect? Saint Paul was content to say that "now we see through a glass darkly." If, then, our conception of God is imperfect and yet our worship is an

objective transaction, must we not say something similar of the Muslim? And when he, according to his lights, worships Him Whom we also worship, must we not leave it to God to decide how far such worship is acceptable to Him?

To recognize that Muslims have some knowledge of God and worship Him is not to place Islam and Christianity on the same level with regard to truth and falsity or to minimize the differences between them. The Christian is still free to maintain, as he must, that his conception of the nature of God is much more adequate than that of the Muslim. There would seem to be no sound reason against making such an admission. And there is one great advantage. When we admit that the Muslim has knowledge of God and worships Him, and when, in recognition of this, we speak about 'God' and not 'Allah' in referring to Islam, we have laid the foundation stone of a bridge between the two religions. This is the necessary basis of theological communication. Once Muslims and Christians agree that they are both speaking about God, they can go on to discuss such questions as, "What is He like?" and "How does He reveal Himself to men?"

On this basis, too, a degree of mutuality is possible; that is to say, the Christians need not be wholly givers and the Muslims wholly receivers. In so far as the best of us in this life only sees through a glass darkly, there is scope for the ordinary run of Christians to receive much light from their Muslim friends—light which will illuminate their Christian faith and make them better Christians. In this connection I should like to bear witness to the fact that my awareness of the objective reality of God, as the One with Whom I have to deal,—the very point I have been emphasizing—has been greatly strengthened by my study of the writings of Muslims.

Finally, there are the Christian Arabs and Arabic-speakers, of whom there are about two millions. For God they use the word *al-lāh*. Their ancestors probably used it before the time of Muḥammad, for most of them belong to the ancient churches, and there were many Christian Arabs by Muḥammad's time. Do they worship Allah or God? The question is about as sensible as would be the statement that (neglecting minorities) Protestants worship God and Gott, Roman Catholics Deus and Dieu.

If there is some justification for using 'Allah' of which I am not aware, I should be glad to learn of it. If there is not, I would plead with my fellow-Christians, in the interests of communication with Muslims, to abandon this unfortunate usage.

W. Montgomery Watt

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PAKISTAN AND THE ISLAMIC STATE

The creation of Pakistan out of the former British Indian Empire and its emergence as an Islamic State is an important political phenomenon in the modern world. Pakistan claims to have welded about 75 million people, living in two geographical areas, separated by more than a thousand miles, into one (Pakistani) nation. Ever since the emergence of Pakistan some basic questions have arisen relating to the nature of the state, whether theocratic or secular, mono-national or multi-national and the like. But all these fundamental questions hinge upon one central issue, namely that Pakistan is an Islamic State and that, therefore, all its problems must find their solution in that context and by that criterion. It was that concept which interpreted the circumstances under which, historically, the new nation came into existence and it is that same concept which will shape and determine its future course. Keeping in mind parallel efforts to achieve the Islamic State elsewhere in the world of Islam, our purpose here will be to consider the essential elements in that concept, its relation to other theories of political order and patterns of practice and its influence upon future developments.

The Resolution of the Aims and Objects of the Constitution of Pakistan passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on March 12th, 1949, declared: "This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan, resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign state of Pakistan . . . wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed: wherein Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in their individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah."

This Resolution has been understood throughout Pakistan to mean the establishment of an Islamic State, though the actual term is conspicuous by its absence. The term 'Islamic State' is not itself new and various writers have used it to describe the form of rule developed by the Prophet himself. Though the word 'state' *(dawlah)* is not found in the Qur'ān it can hardly be doubted that the concept is there.

It may serve to clarify the notion if it is carefully distinguished from a merely Muslim state. Though the majority of the population in any given nation may be Muslims and authority substantially in Muslim hands, as in Turkey and Iran today, such a condition of things does not necessarily constitute an Islamic state, or so many recent Muslim publicists have argued. For the governments in these

nations may not be inspired by Islamic ideals. For the same reason various historical states under Muslim rulers do not fall rightly into the category of Islamic states. The criterion must be the principles by which those rulers and their peoples were guided. This important distinction between 'Muslim' and 'Islamic' sends us back to the time of the Prophet himself and the first four rightly guided Caliphs for a valid answer to the question: What is an Islamic state? And an Islamic state today must mean the development of the ideals and institutions of that period when Islam existed in its pristine purity. What then were the outstanding characteristics of the type of state that was developed in early Islam?

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF MECCA AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

To form an idea of the type of state that the Prophet Muḥammad established, we must first draw some picture of the social conditions under which he appeared in Arabia with his religion of Islam. Though by birth he belonged to the powerful Meccan clan, called the Quraysh, who had important trade in Arabia, the Prophet Muḥammad was an orphan and without wealth from his childhood. In his early life, he engaged in trade as an employee of Khadījah who later became his wife. But he found that trade was not to be his profession. His next plan was to be a religious, as well as a political, leader of the Arabs. The success in achieving such a leadership lay in organizing the impoverished agricultural workers around Mecca. "As new recruits mainly from the slaves and the lower classes began to swell the ranks of believers (in Islam), the ridicule and sarcasm which had hitherto been used unsparingly on the part of the Quraysh were no longer deemed as effective weapons: it became necessary to resort to active persecution."[1] The question, however, remains: "What circumstances helped the Prophet Muḥammad to organize the lower classes?"

Because of the lack of information about pre-Islamic Arabia, it is very difficult to answer such a question. But whatever can be gathered from pre-Islamic Arabian history makes it appear that there was an "age-long process of decline and decay in South Arabian trade, agriculture, prosperity and national life."[2] In pre-Islamic Arabia the South Arabian kings developed highly efficient irrigation systems. But during the era just preceding the emergence of Islam, the once prosperous agricultural colonies of South Arabia collapsed. It is natural that the worst sufferers of this decay of agriculture were

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[1] Phillip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 1940, p. 113.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

the agricultural workers. Researches have been made into the social organization of Mecca at the time of the emergence of Islam. Among them is a recent article by Eric Wolf on "The Social Organization of Mecca and the Rise of Islam" in the *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*. The writer says that although "the Koreish of the centre" and "the Koreish of the outskirts" of the city of Mecca were the most important clans, the real functional units of pre-Islamic Mecca just preceding the rise of Islam "were no longer clans as such, nor localized groups of kin, but the clusters of rich merchants and their dependents. The dependent population was made up of several groups. Differentiation of status, minor among the pastoral nomads, assumed major importance in Mecca."[3] The lower classes or the dependent population consisted of six main groups, of whom the slaves were the most important. Other groups were the mercenaries, mainly of slave origin, the personnel for merchant caravans, the middlemen, the debtor class, the wage-earners, and last of all the clients.

It would seem then that the rise and revolt of Islam in the initial stage was basically agrarian in nature, directed against the feudal and commercial aristocracy in Mecca. Only if we explain the Islamic state in such a context can we get a correct idea as to the characteristics of an Islamic state. This point will be clear from the following: "Due to the commercial orientation of the Meccan society . . . the patron-client tie, formally based on fictional relationship of kin, actually took more and more the guise of an exploitative relation between members of different class groups. This relation was reinforced by the prevalence of wage-payment and the institution of debt slavery. It has been pointed out repeatedly that the bulk of Muḥammad's first converts came from the group of clients and from the slaves of the city. (i) . . . When Muḥammad first embarked on his career, the excitement of the slaves of Mecca was so intense that a leading slave owner who had one hundred slaves removed them from the city because he feared that they might become converts. (ii) When Muḥammad besieged Taif, he called on the slaves of the town to desert to his camp where they would receive their freedom. (iii)"[4]

Our purpose is not to trace the history of the rise of Islam in Arabia, but to find out the circumstances in which Islam emerged. To conclude, then, the social organization of Mecca before the rise of Islam was based upon kinship structure—real or fictional. But the commercial development more and more led to the emergence of

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[3] Eric R. Wolf, "The Social Organization of Mecca and the Rise of Islam," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. VII, no. 4, Winter, 1951, p. 335.

[4] Eric R. Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 336. (i) Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, vol. I, p. 240. (ii) Aloys Sprenger, *The Life of Mohammed* 1851, p. 159. (iii) *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. I, p. 80.

class groupings and exploitative relationships. The fictional and real ties therefore became disruptive. On the other hand, the neglect of agriculture led to the creation of an impoverished agricultural proletariat around Mecca. Referring to this economic nature of the rise of Islam, Torrey speaks of the "commercial theological terms" of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth.[5] In such a situation Islam emerged and was in a position to rally to its banner the lower classes. In this way, the Prophet Muḥammad built up his new Islamic state upon the ruins of the old Arab clan structure. Thus Islam transferred the allegiance of the individual from the level of the clan to the level of the state and religion. "The religious revolution associated with the name of Muḥammed permitted the establishment of an incipient state structure. It replaced the allegiance to the kinship unit with allegiance to the state structure, and allegiance phrased in religious terms. It limited the disruptive exercise of the kin-based mechanism of the blood-feud. . . . It based itself instead on the armed force of the faithful as the core of social order which included both believers and unbelievers. . . . The revolution accomplished, power quickly passed out of the hands of the armed brotherhood of the faithful into the hands of the Koreish who had fought against them. It may be said that Muḥammed accomplished for the Meccan traders that which they could not accomplish themselves: that is, the organization of the state power."[6]

This short digression into the economic and social conditions out of which emerged the original Islamic state throws light on the basic features that must be possessed by every state that can claim correctly to be called a *true* Islamic state. We shall now turn to explain in some short detail some of these basic features.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWERS IN AN ISLAMIC STATE

We shall first take up the problem of the relation of economic and political powers in the Islamic state because in modern times economics is fast becoming the main business of politics and government.

In a pure Islamic theory of the state a commercial community free from state control cannot exist. In Mecca before the advent of Islam, a comparatively free commercial class existed. The advent of Islam meant the curtailment of the freedom of this commercial class. Early Islam developed economic ethics such as prohibitions against interest and the accumulation of capital, and propounded state-ownership of property, etc., all of which were definitely against

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[5] Charles G. Torrey, *The Commercial and Theological Terms in the Koran*, 1892.

[6] Eric R. Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-353.

the free growth of any commercial community. We have seen that Islam was basically an agrarian movement in the initial stages and therefore the development of this type of economic thinking was natural. During the reign of the second Caliph 'Umar, Islam spread far beyond the frontiers of Arabia. The immense wealth of the conquered territories was now treated as the common property of all Muslims, under the pressure of the religious party of Medina. The Caliph 'Umar, therefore, introduced a system of state-ownership of the landed property in the conquered territories and developed a system of state-revenue, now multiplied a thousand-fold by the addition of the wealth of the conquered territories. The artificial measure of the state-ownership of land introduced by 'Umar could not stand the test of time and during the reign of the third Caliph 'Uthmān, permission was granted to his cousin Mu'awīya, the Governor of Syria, to own land privately in the conquered territory of Syria. But such an action by the Caliph 'Uthmān is regarded as an exception to the general rule and Caliph 'Umar's system of the state ownership of all lands in the conquered territory is taken as ideal throughout the Muslim world. But the Meccan commercial aristocracy had no attachment to the religion of Islam and they disliked the puritanic religious zeal of Caliph 'Umar. At the head of this secular party were the members of the powerful Ummayad clan who refused to recognize the rich conquests of Syria, Egypt, and Persia as the common property of all Muslims. They demanded that those lands should be treated as their own personal properties. The fight that ensued between the Ummayads and the religious party of Medina resulted in the establishment of the Ummayad dynasty and supremacy with complete "secularization" of the Islamic state. Thus the notion of state ownership of property and the relationship between economic and political power took a new shape under the feudalism introduced by the Ummayad dynasty. It is curious, however, to note that in the Islamic legal system there is no scope left for the collective ownership of property. So it may appear to a casual observer that there is nothing in Islam opposed to the basic assumptions of modern capitalism. The explanation of this contradiction between Caliph 'Umar's system of state ownership of land in the conquered territories and the highly individualistic Islamic legal traditions is that Muslim jurists, under the influence of the commercial classes of the towns, Mecca for example, developed contrary ideas of the private possession of property and its inheritance.

We have earlier argued that the building of a truly Islamic state under modern conditions must mean the revival of the ideals and institutions which guided early Islam. Tendencies towards state ownership of property—not confined to land alone but inclusive of trade

and industry—are to be looked for in such a state. Here, however, we encounter a problem in that this would militate against the free activities of a commercial community in Pakistan. It is clear from history that commerce and individual enterprise and initiative have always been connected. Commerce exists, of course, in Muslim countries but Islamic civilization as a whole has not been helpful to the development of the economic ideas associated with progressive commercialism. Islamic feudal states in the past have stood in the way of capital formation. The laws of inheritance prevented accumulation; the strict prohibition of interest retarded commercial and industrial progress. There was at the heart of original Islam a socialist conception in the sense that the Prophet taught and practised that the community could intervene in individual possession and that it was a religious duty to correct exploitation and redress its wrongs.

Government control of economic life in an Islamic state would necessarily be dominated by religious ideas in early Islam—ideas clearly antithetical to many of the notions of modern industrial, commercial civilization. It would seem then that two alternatives would have to be faced; either, a degree of economic stagnation, or a tendency towards new interpretations of Islamic economic and ethical ideals. The second is already observable in Pakistan. It is being shown that individual ownership of land is not incompatible with the early Islamic system. The present Governor General, when Finance Minister, declared at the International Islamic Economic Conference in 1949, at Karachi, that "When exigencies of the situation demanded, Hazrat Omar refused to acknowledge the right of Arabs to hold land in any conquered territory. The right of God, in other words, the welfare of the state, demanded that order at that stage. Later on when conditions changed the right was granted under Hazrat Osman." The question will remain whether these new interpretations qualify the validity of the Islamic state which approves them, or whether those are right who insist on an uncompromising acceptance of the original Islamic economic laws.

STATE AND COMMUNITY IN AN ISLAMIC STATE

Another area of discussion where there is need for reconciliation between the historic character of Islamic institutions and modern Western ideas concerns the mutual relationship of state and community. For the building of a truly democratic society it is important to remember that the community should be sharply distinguished from the state itself. The state is there conceived as an agency of the community, not the community itself. The latter must have its proper freedom of diversity, consistent with the requirements of the state as the guarantor and servant of its liberties. In the early Islamic

community, however, there is a strong tendency to the complete identification of the two. D. S. Margoliouth says: "Although we are apt to think of Islam as a religion, it is probable that the Prophet thought of it rather as a nation."[7] In primitive Semitic life god and tribe were one. The god was a friend to the friends of the tribe, and an enemy to its enemies. To change one's god was to the primitive Semite what a change of nationality would be to a modern westerner. The Prophet Muḥammad replaced tribes as well as the tribal gods by one nation and one god. Religion, therefore, became the basic bond of the new Islamic community. A community thus built up on the institution of worship, and associated religious ceremonies and precepts, appealed to the deepest human instincts.

In the Islamic system religion is identified with the community and community in its turn is identified with the state. This is not to suggest that Islam succeeded in establishing a system where identity was actually realized. But it was greatly facilitated by the fact that the Islamic state in the early years of its existence was continually at war with its enemies and therefore the identification of the community and state was more readily possible, since the core of this new community was the armed force of the faithful. (The armed force of the faithful was the core of the social order and the state, as the order-creating organ, was thus identified with the community.) He who adopted Islam had to forget all connections, even his kith and kin, with his former community. By the acceptance of Islam he emerged altogether as a new man in a new community of Islamic brotherhood. This community of Islam was different from any other. It consisted, at least in theory, of the chosen few and they were entrusted with the duty of establishing the sovereignty of Allāh on earth. The demand for a common mode of life is thus insistent in the Islamic system. The advocates of the Islamic state will get inspiration for community building from early Islam. They will be apt to forget and minimize national and community differences. They will tend to prescribe for all followers of Islam a common mode of life, no matter what geographical or environmental differences may exist among them. The attempts to develop such a community or nation are to be found in the early history of Islam. D. S. Margoliouth says: "The Arabic word for "sect" used by Islam, is adopted by the Turks in the sense of 'nation' and this seems to be a justifiable mistake: for in the new community all tribal differences were to be sunk, and the theory of the Platonic Republic, according to which the members of the community should share pains and pleasures to the same extent as the members of one body, is attributed to the Prophet. And in spite of dissensions and civil wars, some length of time elapsed before the Muslim

[7] D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammedanism*, p. 75.

conscience countenanced any such division of nationalities as we have seen to be characteristic of Islam in our time: and the spread of one language over the whole of the conquered territory was carried out with greater success and determination than the Romans ever achieved or displayed. . . . In Persia, with its ancient and glorious traditions, sense of nationality distinct from the Islamic awoke, but not until the 4th century of Islam did it even there display much vigour."[8]

In view of this strong tendency to the identity of state and community in primitive Islam, any modern Islamic state is likely, in loyalty thereto, to minimise differences within it arising out of geographical and cultural backgrounds. Its state structure will tend towards uniformity and a common mode of life rather than towards diversity. In present-day Pakistan such trends are clearly discernible. "The existing provinces and acceding states of Pakistan" says a writer in *Dawn,* the Karachi journal, "do not contain any differing nationalities or sub-nationalities. . . . What is really at the minds of the provincial advocates is the fear that in a unitary form of government their interests will be swamped by the domination of the central machine. They have no distinctive culture or civilization to preserve for ever. . . . The Federal form of constitution is neither in consonance with the highest Islamic principles nor will it be conducive to the attainment of the ideal for which Pakistan came into existence."[9] Though these and similar assertions are palpably incorrect and misinformed and though the Report of the Basic Principles' Committee sides against them, they serve to show how strong is the tendency to minimise cultural differences. Such neglect of culture may well create more problems than it solves.

THE CHURCH OR RELIGION IN THE ISLAMIC STATE

In an Islamic state there can be no question of a separate existence of a "church" distinguished from that state. In Islam the two are inextricably united. As head of the early Muslim community the Prophet Muḥammad stood as the Vicar of God upon earth. The citizens of Mecca, long before the advent of Islam, had developed a sound and progressive 'secular' constitution for their city. The emergence of Islam meant its replacement by the direct government of Allāh, the rule of God. As De Santillana has remarked: "The principle of unity and order which in other societies is called *civitas,*

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[8] Ibid. pp. 75-76.

[9] *Dawn,* Karachi, August 14th, 1952, p. xv. A.A. Siddiqi. Cf. also *Dawn,* Oct. 13th 1952, p. 6, Speech of the Chief Minister, Punjab, at the Council Session of the Pakistan Muslim League.

polis, state, in Islam is personified by Allāh. Allāh is the name for the supreme power acting in the common interest. Thus the public treasury is the treasury of Allāh, the army is the army of Allāh, even the public functionaries are the employees of Allāh. . . . When the chief of a tribe that adopted Islam said to the Prophet: 'Thou art our prince' the Prophet answered quickly: 'the Prince is God and not I.' "[10] It is for the same reason that the *Khalīfah* was never called 'King' since this would have been to trespass on the sovereignty of God. Likewise the word *'sulṭān'* was preferred to *'malik'* by numerous rulers, who did not hesitate to seek nominal approval and even investiture from a weak representative of God on earth so as to maintain what one writer has called "the legal fiction of the overlordship of the *Khalīfah* and the supremacy of Allāh as the real king of the faithful in particular and of all men in general."[11]

The most important implication of this concept is that all earthly power is to be subordinate to the will of God. It envisages a state in which there will be the rule of law (the law of God). The first Caliph, Abū Bakr said: "Obey me so long as I obey God and His Prophet; and if I do not, obey me not." There is no conception in Islam which would plead for the doctrine: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." As the late Liaquat 'Alī Khān declared: "Islam does not divide man's life into halves: one belonging to God and the other belonging to Caesar. It embraces the whole of the life of its followers individually and collectively."[12]

Here also it is clear that Pakistan has been faced with the issue of how to interpret this aspect of the Islamic state in view of the demands of modern commercial and industrial civilization. For the fusion of religion and the state, not only means the control of the state by religion, but also the control of economic and other aspects of life. The free growth of the industrial bourgeoisie will not be possible in such a system. With the growth of the industrial bourgeoisie in Muslim countries, therefore, there will be more and more demand for the separation of politics from religion. In modern times Turkey has achieved the separation of religion and the state. The impact of commercialism and industrialism produces liberalism and rationalism in Muslim societies and these attitudes in turn more and more demand the separation of state and church or religion. Liberalism and rationalism are the philosophies of rising commercialism and

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[10] In the *Legacy of Islam,* Edited by T. W. Arnold and A. Guillaume, 1931, p. 85

[11] The Macdonald Presentation Volume, Princeton, 1933, p. 396.

[12] Speech at Karachi, Nov. 25th. 1949: *The Islamic Review* January, 1950.

industrialism. In that situation, Islamic states will have to undergo new orientation.

THE ISLAMIC STATE VS. TOTALITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY

In his brilliant treatise on *Ijtihād,* Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl elaborates the view that Islam is not merely a religion, but a complete code of conduct ordained by God for the political, social, moral, and spiritual governance of mankind. "Islam, to the Muslims, is more than a religion, it is the embodiment of a complete system of life."[13]

We have earlier seen that Islam is church, state and community put together. Because of this encyclopedic nature of the Islamic code, scholars have found similarities between the Islamic state and totalitarian states—recently, for example, Ajit Kumar Sen, who has drawn parallels between the Islamic state and the totalitarian Soviet state.[14]

If a philosophy of life is to be termed totalitarian because it pervades the total aspects of the life of man in their collective and individual spheres, Islam is no doubt totalitarian. The outlook of life for a Muslim is frankly and honestly religious and this religious aspect pervades all other aspects of his life, including the political aspect. But in spite of this manifestly totalitarian nature, springing from its religious basis, the Islamic state differs in important respects from modern totalitarian states. For its totalitarian features are interrelated in a rather different way from the system of modern totalitarian states, because of the type and source of its religious law.

This brings us to the examination of the nature of Islamic jurisprudence, because the true nature of the state is revealed in the fundamental character of its laws. We have seen that Islam wanted to set up a "Kingdom of God," in which the Caliph ruled the creatures of Allāh by His Command. Islam, therefore, did not envisage a system where sovereignty might exist in the Austinian sense. Islam did not devise a system of the dominion of men over men, but a dominion of God over men. A modern apologist for a totalitarian state would argue thus: everything for the state, nothing against and nothing beyond it. But with regard to the Islamic state we may convert the above proposition and say: everything is for God, nothing against Him and nothing beyond Him. Human political superiors in the Islamic state are not superior to God's law.[15] They may

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[13] Majid Khadduri, *The Law of War and Peace in Islam,* p. 3.

[14] Ajit Kumar Sen, *Islamic State and Other Political Essays.*

[15] Cf. *Objectives Resolution* on the Constitution of Pakistan. "Whereas the sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which he has designated to the state of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him, is a sacred trust. . . ." *Pakistan's Fundamentals of Freedom, op cit.,* p. 1

appear to be very autocratic rulers but such autocracy is limited by God's law and such autocracy can extend only so far as it is permitted by God's law. Austin would find great difficulty in getting a satisfactory answer to his concept of sovereignty in the Islamic state. The laws made by the highest legislative authority must be subordinate to the laws of God, which are contained in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. The community or the individual are allowed to exercise their discretion only where no specific law exists. The collective will of the community or that of the individual cannot question the fundamental basis of the Islamic law.[16] This does not, however, mean that the Islamic law ceases to be democratic, in that the highest political authority is subordinate to God-made law. "The indivisibility of religion and law sharply separates Islamic jurisprudence from other systems that are based upon norms directly or indirectly approved by people or derived from the will, reason or moral nature of man. This does not mean that the Islamic jurisprudence is less democratic; on the contrary it is probably more so, because Allah rules in the common interest."[17]

The Islamic System and the Freedom of the Will of the Individual. The main difficulty with the peculiar nature of the Islamic jurisprudence is, however, not the problem of securing a democratic government or a democratic society in the above sense. The main difficulty is securing the freedom of the will of the individual. The basic inspiration of the outlook on life of a Muslim is derived from the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, which are immutable. The Qur'ān controls the thoughts and ideas of the Muslims in a stricter sense than any other codes developed in human history. Every word of the Qur'ān is Allāh's word and no human being can change Allāh's words. Every word of the Qur'ān must be accepted by every Muslim as unalterable; a Muslim cannot accept some part of the Qur'ān and reject other parts. In such a case he is an outcast, a heretic, an atheist, and an enemy of God. Because of such a fundamentalist attitude on the part of the Muslims, it was almost impossible to start reformation movements in Islamic societies, although in recent times with the impact of modern industrialism such reformation movements became absolutely necessary. This is a problem which faces all Muslim societies and they will have to solve the problem.

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[16] Recently the Basic Principles' Committee's Report (this Committee is for the drafting of the basic principles upon which the future Constitution of Pakistan shall be based) proposed the setting up of a Board of Experts, well versed in Islamic law, who would exercise their suspensive veto, provided the laws passed by the legislatures of Pakistan were not in conformity with the basic tenets of Islam.

[17] D. P. Mukherji, *Modern Indian Culture,* Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1948, p. 45.

Every progressive society which wishes to survive in this competitive world of ours, must plan for the non-conformist because "truth is born of non-conformism." At some historic period, it becomes necessary for man to question the very fundamentals and seek new interpretations for them. The new interpreters of the society are called the radicals and non-conformists. Society must tolerate such radicals and non-conformists, otherwise, the system will fail to secure new dynamism for its survival. We may well argue with J. S. Mill that "the genius has a tendency to break the customs of the society." Rigid uniformity may be good for securing social order, but it may not always be good for releasing the creative faculty of man. Without a plan for releasing the creative faculty of man, no society can ultimately hope for survival or can expect to contribute anything original to human civilization.

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COLLOQUIUM ON ISLAMIC CULTURE

A note on this interesting venture held at Princeton under the joint auspices of that University and the Library of Congress appeared in the July issue. It is hoped that some papers given at the Meeting will be printed in these pages through several forthcoming issues, beginning with January, 1954, when there will also be an account of the Colloquium itself. Franklin Publications, Inc., plan to print in Arabic the papers given in that language on literature, history, education, social reform, law, science, philosophy and art. Professors Philip Hitti, Lewis V. Thomas and T. Cuyler Young, of the Princeton University Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, presided over the Princeton sessions of the Colloquium, which was organised with Dr. Bayard Dodge as General Secretary.

A TURKISH ACCOUNT OF ORIENTALISM

A Translation of the Introduction to the Turkish Edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam

[Below is a translation of the first seventeen pages of an Introduction, twenty-one pages in length, written by Abdülhak Adnan-Adïvar, the distinguished Turkish scholar, medical doctor, patriot, statesman, and historian of science, as Editor in Chief of the excellent Turkish revision and translation of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. This project was undertaken at the request of the Turkish Ministry of Education in 1939. The first fascicule, prefaced by this *"Mukaddime,"* appeared in Istanbul in 1940. Since then, some 56 fascicules, covering the letters A to K, have been published. A recent number was entirely devoted to ISTANBUL and appeared in connection with the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the capture of the city by the Turks.

Dr. Adnan-Adïvar's account of the history of oriental studies in the West, and more recently in Turkey, presents an interesting and liberal Turkish point of view. Readers are reminded that it was published in 1940, and that the author has been unable to review this translation before its appearance. He has, however, graciously permitted us to translate and publish this major part of it and has himself made certain emendations and corrections. The translators have endeavored to give as close and careful a translation as possible, preferring accuracy to literary fluency. Any explanatory material or minor corrections which they have inserted into the text and footnotes appear in square brackets in order to distinguish them from the author's own parenthetical remarks.

Dr. Adnan-Adïvar has also published *La Science chez les Turcs Ottomans*, G.-P. Maisonneuve, Paris, 1939; a much enlarged and improved Turkish edition entitled *Osmanli Türklerinde İlim*, Maarif Matbassï, Istanbul, 1943; a study on the historical development of science and religion, *Tarih Boyunca İlim ve Din*, 2 vols., Remzi Kitabevi, Istanbul, 1944; and numerous articles and reviews in learned journals and in the press of several lands in a variety of languages. Prof. Niyazi Berkes, doçent in Sociology at Ankara University, author of a pioneering study on social organization in a group of villages near Ankara entitled *Ankara Köyleri* (Publications of Ankara University, Ankara, 1942) and translator of Plato's *Apology*, Aristotle's *Politics*, and Freud's *Totem and Tabu* into Turkish (World Classics Series, Publications of the Turkish Ministry of Eduction, Ankara, 1944, 1945 and 1947 respectively), was trained in the Department of Philosophy at Istanbul University. He was later appointed as an Instructor there by Prof. M. Fu'ad Köprülü (now Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs) when he became dean of the reorganized Faculty of Letters. Prof. Berkes did postgraduate work at the University of Chicago. His article, "Sociology in Turkey," the only account on the subject available in English, appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII, (1936) 238-246. Prof. Berkes is now Visiting Professor at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal and he is preparing an English translation of selected writings of the Turkish social philosopher Ziya Gökalp, and a study on Secularism in Turkey.

His collaborator in translation, Dr. Howard A. Reed, is assistant professor of Islamic Studies and assistant director of the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill. He specializes in modern Turkish history, has lived half of his life in Turkey and the Middle East, was educated at the International College, Izmir, American Community School, Beirut, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., Wellington College, Berks., England, got his A.B. degree with honors at Yale and his Ph.D. in Oriental Languages and Literatures at Princeton. After four years of service in the U.S. Navy in World War II, mostly in the Middle East theater (for which he was awarded the U.S. Legion of Merit with combat V, twice, and the British Distinguished Service Cross, for gallantry in action), he and his wife directed relief work among students in Greece under World Student Relief and U.N.R.R.A. auspices. He later taught Modern Middle Eastern History at

Princeton and at Yale, where he was also resident director of the International Student Center. During the summer of 1952, Prof. Reed visited orientalists in Europe and traveled extensively in Turkey on a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship. His article, "A New Force at Work in Democratic Turkey", appeared in the Winter, 1953, issue of *The Middle East Journal.*]

INTRODUCTION

Bilig ḳïymetini biliglig bilir
Uḳuṣḳa aġïrlïḳ biligdin kelir.[1]

[Mahmud Kâsgari] *Kutadgu Bilig*

Lā ta'rifi-l-ḥaḳḳa bi-l-ricāli i'rifi-l-ḥaḳḳa ta'rif ahlah.[2]

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib

Homo sum humani nihil a me alienum puto.[3]

Terentius

The *Encyclopedia of Islam* is a monumental work containing concise information in brief but encyclopedic articles on the contributions of the Muslims to science, art and intellectual life and deals with the homelands of the Muslim peoples as well as the lands to which they have migrated and the areas where the religion of Islam has penetrated, with particular reference to history, geography, ethnography, philosophy, theology, jurisprudence and linguistics.

Before discussing the contents, usefulness and editorial background of this work, it will be helpful and necessary to sketch some observations about the branches of knowledge which today we group under the name of *orientalism,* which is the main subject of this encyclopedia.

If we wish to explain the term *orientalism* briefly, we may say that it is the branch of knowledge initiated by the West when it began to take an interest in and to seek to know the East. We shall see, however, how far from satisfactory this definition is as we proceed with this introduction in which we will endeavor to amplify this definition.

It is well known that a very weak revival of learning had begun in Europe with the efforts of the English theologian Alcuin (732-804) during the reign of Charlemagne. But this movement, which continued for a period after him in the time of his disciple Hrabanus Maurus (776-856), who was called the first teacher of Germany

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[1] "The wise man knows the value of knowledge, [and] Wisdom derives its dignity from knowledge."

[2] "Do not know the truth by the informant: know the truth itself and you will know who tell it."

[3] "I am a man, I consider nothing human alien to me."

(primus praeceptor Germaniae), soon was extinguished in the course of the great upheavals of the 9th and 10th centuries.

It is true that, at the end of the first millennium, a period which brought forth many a conjecture and prophecy, a tendency to revival is recorded. Nevertheless, as the thinkers and learned men of this era who wished to study were unacquainted with either Greek or Arabic, the scientific material at their disposal was very scanty and of such a character that it tended to lead men into error rather than to truth. Even if one might observe a sort of re-awakening along the shores of the Bosphorus at this time, this too was not a true renaissance but might be characterized as a revival of bookish erudition. It is true that even during the darkest periods of the middle ages, certain manuscripts which were hard to decipher and interpret were to be found in the libraries of single monasteries which were hidden away either on a mountain top or in the forests of a valley far from the routes of invading armies. Although it might not have been impossible to base the European revival of learning on the utilization of these manuscripts, which consisted of Latin translations from the Greek made during the final stages of ancient times, yet just at this time, when the original works of the Muslim world in Arabic, together with Arabic translations of classical Greek works brightened the Western horizon like the sun breaking through a cloudy sky, all eyes turned in that direction. From that time on, the West began to know the East and a sort of orientalism came into existence.

Right in the middle of the 10th century we witness the first influence of Eastern medicine on Western, in the city of Salerno, known as *Civitas hippocratica* (the city of Hippocrates) in Southern Italy. The medical school of this city of patients, set on a sunny, salubrious shore, made the first translation from Arabic into Latin and, in this manner, perhaps the first orientalists appeared.[4]

It is said that a Jew by the name of Shabbetai (d. 982), son of Abraham, son of Yoel, who was born in Otranto in the year 913 A.D., fell into the hands of the Arabs as a prisoner, was taken to Palermo and, after having learned Arabic there, returned to Italy where he labored as one of the founders of the medical school at Salerno. It is very likely that this man, known by the name of Domnulus or Donnolo, who has left a work dealing with antidotes named *Sefer ha Yaqar* (valuable book), written in Hebrew, had also adapted certain passages from Arabic works. However, the main work of translation only began in earnest almost a century later. The first scholar or the first orientalist who really succeeded in this endeavor was originally a Muslim. It happened that a Muslim merchant from Carthage,

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[4] (In order to distinguish these first orientalists from orientalists in the modern sense, it is more correct to call them old-style orientalists *(ancien orientaliste.)*)

passing by Salerno, developed an interest in medical study. Returning to his own country, he busied himself wth Eastern medicine, and collecting many manuscripts he returned to Salerno. There he embraced Christianity, adopted the name of Constantine, and hence he is known in the history of science as Constantinus Africanus (d. 1087). The works of this man are not straightforward translations of Arabic medical works, but are rather adaptations in the form of quotations, commentaries, explanations and even plagiarisms. In any case, the works of this former Carthaginian Muslim had a very modernizing influence on all the European medical schools.

On the other hand, when Westerners came into closer contact with the East as a result of the Crusades, they realized that they were confronted with a civilization superior to their own. Among the Christians who fought against the people who were the creators of this civilization there were scholars who sought to transmit to their own lands some fragments of Eastern science and culture. The influence of Arabic writings can be clearly seen in almost all the works of one of these, an Englishman named Adelard of Bath (who became particularly famous between the years 1110-1142). The most important works which Adelard translated directly from Arabic were the astronomical tables of Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, and fifteen books of Euclid's *Elements*.

Undoubtedly, the most important orientalist of the older period was the North Italian, Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187). The most famous works of this man, who was probably the head of a translation committee in Toledo, were the translations from Arabic into Latin of the *Almagest (al-Majasṭī)* of Ptolemy and the *Canon (Qānūn)* of Avicenna (Ibn Sīna). Again, in the same period, Robert of Chester, an English scholar (who became famous around the middle of the 12th century), studied for four or five years among the Arabs in Spain, and then translated al-Khwārizmī's *Al-Djabr wa-l Muqābalah* into Latin, and in 1141, in collaboration with a man named Hermanus Dalmata, produced the first Latin translation of the Qur'ān.

As a result of the influence of the translations of Arabic works being made in the 12th century, particularly those of al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīna and al-Ghazālī, the famous Dominican monk and philosopher Albertus Magnus (c. 1193-1280) began to appear in Arab gowns when he lectured on Aristotle in the University of Paris. In the 13th century the English friar Michael Scot (d. circa 1235) who had also learned Arabic in Toledo, translated Averroes' (Ibn Rushd's) commentary on Aristotle and Aristotle's book on zoology from Arabic into Latin.

Thus, Western scholarship, by means of these translations, inaugurated a second age of translation in the history of science, from

Arabic and Hebrew into Latin, comparable to the first era of translation in which the Arabs translated philosophical and scientific works from Greek and Syriac into Arabic. It should be pointed out here, that there was an important difference in objective between the orientalism of this early scholarship and that of contemporary orientalism. In taking over early Eastern science and philosophy into their own language, the orientalists were primarily concerned with improving their own knowledge and refinement rather than in making a scientific study of the East, and they were not seeking to discover anything original in Eastern languages and history. In this respect, these early orientalists were engaged in an endeavor which somewhat resembles our [i.e. modern Turkey's] own activity in translation and adaptation from the West.

In the time of Pope Clement V, who wished to spread Christianity and Christian civilization in the East in subsequent centuries, a religious council met at Vienne [France] (1311-1312), acknowledged the necessity of providing instruction in the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean languages in the universities of Rome, Paris, Bologna, Salamanca and Oxford, and took measures to carry out these decisions. However, as Ernest Renan wrote in his *Histoire des Langues Semitiques* "the efforts of Raymond Lull, [the Catalonian who was regarded as the father of oriental studies in the West, and who had written on almost all branches of knowledge, to train missionaries to convert Muslims to Christianity] and the decrees of the Council of Vienne in 1311 failed to create a serious study of Hebrew [orientalism]."[5] There was even a reluctance to encourage the spread of Arabic, particularly for fear that it might lead to the spread of Islamic ideas among the Christians. For instance, it is said that when the Franciscan monk, Roger Bacon, the famous English scholar of the 13th century, spoke of the importance of Arabic, all at Oxford University cried out "Bacon has become a Saracen." Nevertheless, after the thirteenth century, the West came into contact with Asia by means of various travels. One of the results of these contacts, for example, was the compilation of the *Codex Cumanicus,* which was the outcome of the awakening interest in the language of the Kuman Turks who inhabited the north shores of the Black Sea. On the other hand, even from the beginning of the 15th century, the splendor and might of the Ottoman State began to attract the attention of Europe. This interest was tremendously increased by the appearance of the book by Löwenklau, entitled *Annales sultanorum othmanidarum,* which

[5] [The full title of Renan's work is, *Histoire Générale et Système Comparé des Langues Semitiques,* Paris, 1868. This quotation appears on page 173. The parts enclosed in square brackets appear to be a paraphrase and explanation.]

was published toward the end of the 16th century (1588) in Frankfurt. At the start of the 17th century, a German scholar named Hieronynus Megiserus published a Turkish grammar in Latin called *Liber institutionum linguae turcicae* in Leipzig, which he dedicated to the Magyar [Hungarian] King Matthias. Megiserus, in this dedication, boastfully claimed that he had been able to codify the grammatical rules of the very singular Turkish language for the first time (1612). In Italy, a Venetian named Giovanni Monilo, who had been a dragoman in the office of the Venetian bailo (embassy) in Istanbul, prepared a Turkish-Italian dictionary, which was only published in 1641 in Rome. Again, in Italy, a certain Pietro della Valle composed a manuscript Turkish grammar in 1621 which was never published. In 1630, a Turkish grammar by André Du Ryer, in Latin, was published for the first time in Paris, and this grammar was reprinted in Paris in 1634. There is also a translation of the Qur'ān by this author.

On the other hand, when it became fashionable to translate the Bible into various languages in the middle of this century, Le Jay in France, and Walton in England, each produced a *"polyglot Bible,"* and in 1661 Castell prepared and published a dictionary in seven languages. A Frenchman named Mesgnien, a famous orientalist of the 17th century, who adopted the name Meninski when he came to Istanbul as an interpreter with a Polish embassy in 1652, wrote and published the *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium* in the year 1680. This man had entered the service of the Emperor Leopold in 1661, had come to Istanbul as chief dragoman of an embassy, and had attained a very important position on account of the close relations then existing between Austria and the Ottomans. He labored on this work for seven years, and established an oriental press in Vienna which disappeared from sight in the course of the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683. Although the Arabic and Persian vocabularies of the work, which was a dictionary from Arabic, Persian and Turkish into Latin, were taken from the earlier dictionaries of Castell and Golius, its Turkish vocabulary was based on the Turkish which he had learned in Istanbul and was the product of his own industry. This book was republished in 1780 under the auspices of the Empress Maria Theresa, with an additional introductory chapter in Latin giving a long and detailed account of the origins and progress of orientalism in Europe. This remains to-day a very useful source for the history of orientalism, which no works dealing with this subject can afford to ignore. As a matter of fact, the section on the older period in the article *Orientalismo* in the Italian Encyclopedia consists of information derived from this introduction. It is necessary to say that Meninski's dictionary has occasional value for our work even today. Meninski also wrote a Turkish grammar in Latin which was published in Vienna in 1680. As this is an Ottoman Turkish

grammar it also contains Turkish, Arabic, and Persian grammatical rules. Another work which also became very famous is the encyclopedia entitled *Bibliothèque Orientale,* published by D'Herbelot in France during the reign of Louis XIV. The author, Barthelmi D'Herbelot (1620-1695) began to study oriental languages in his youth, and in order to be in closer touch with the Orient, he studied mostly in Italy. He later was appointed secretary-interpreter of oriental languages to Louis XIV. The work of this man, who never even visited the Orient, is doubtless the original forebear of the Encyclopedia whose translation we are publishing today. The subtitle of this book, which says that it "contains everything necessary for an understanding of the Eastern peoples, that is, their history, their real and legendary traditions, their religions, sects, governments, politics, mores and customs, and the organization and administration of their states," gives us a more or less complete definition of modern orientalism. The latest edition, in four volumes, appeared in 1781. This work, written in the 17th century, was a very useful one and in spite of the obvious deficiencies of its information, it remained an encyclopedia to which everyone referred to until the 19th century. This work was annotated and published again in the time of Louis XIV, by the famous Antoine Galland, who was an attaché in the [French] embassy at Istanbul. Galland, whose memoirs are very valuable for us, was later appointed Professor of Arabic in the Collège de France and translated the *Thousand and One Nights* into French for the first time.

While a new kind of orientalism was being established by the personal endeavors of such scholars, in 1519 Francis I of France invited Agostino Giustiniani from Geneva to Paris and commissioned him to teach Hebrew again. When the Collège de France was founded in 1500, oriental languages were included in its curriculum. And, at this time, Guillaume Postel, the first real French orientalist, appeared. This man, who was an eccentric type of scholar, and who claimed inspiration from supernatural sources, devoted a long life and a great deal of his wealth to the compilation of the first Arabic grammar which appeared in Europe. He used to travel widely in Asia and Africa to conduct research on Islam, Christanity and Judaism, and other religions, and would give very liberal lectures on these subjects in Paris. But this open-minded scholarly monk, who said that the truest religion should be derived from a reconciliation of the principles of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, was finally clapped into a monastery by the priests who kept him imprisoned there until he was a hundred years old. There is a work entitled *De la République des Turcs,* published by this man in Poitiers in 1560, which tells of the morals and customs of all the Muslims. The author

republished this work in 1575 with the title of *Histoires orientales, principalement des Turcs et des Turchikes.*

On the other hand, the Popes, in spite of their realization that the graduates of the colleges of oriental languages which they had founded had failed in their missionary work among the Muslims, did not altogether abandon instruction in these languages. In fact, Pope Gregory XIII (d. 1591) founded a printing press in Rome to print books in Arabic characters. This press, in fact, printed Ibn Sīna's *Qānūn* in Arabic letters for the first time. Henry III, the French king, established a chair of Arabic in the Collège de France (1587). In the *Collegium pro fide propaganda,* founded by Pope Urban VII in 1627, courses in oriental languages were also offered. Thus, the orientalists trained in each different country started to translate important books written in the languages which they had learned. It would be too tedious to enumerate all of these translations here. Suffice it to say that these orientalists did not confine themselves to the Arabs and Turks, but their activities extended to India and indirectly to Iran, China, and Japan. Thus, for example, a Japanese grammar and dictionary was published in Rome in 1632. In Holland also Louis le Dieu publishel a Persian grammar in 1639, while Golius published the Arabic text of Ibn 'Arabshāh's *'Adjā'ib al- Maqdūr fī Nawā'ib al-Tīmūr* and an Arabic-Latin dictionary in 1636. In 1663 Abū-l-Fidā's famous *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Tārīkh al-Bashar* was published at Oxford by Pococke. In 1654 the text and a Latin translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* was published in Holland by Gentius.

This type of orientalism was primarily concerned with the teaching of oriental languages because it had been essentially conceived as a means of enabling the priests [church] to carry on missionary activity. Another type of orientalism appeared at the beginning of the 17th century as a tool for political penetration and diplomacy. The first example of this type may be seen in the attitudes and activities of Savary de Brèves who had been in Istanbul during the reigns of Murad III, Mehmed III and Ahmed I as the French ambassador. He had won fame by his conclusion of a new capitulatory treaty with Ahmed I and, resolving to open an oriental printing press in Paris in order to establish French influence in the Orient, he took the very beautiful characters which he had had prepared in Istanbul to Paris. After his death Antoine Vitré, printer to the French king, attempted to establish a printing press by buying this fount in the name of Louis XIII. During the reign of Louis XIV, in 1641, the royal press was able to establish a complete oriental printing establishment by securing the types cast in oriental languages. Louis XIV sent learned missionaries to obtain manuscripts from oriental countries, especially from China. During his reign dragomans were appointed to the Near Eastern countries to

look after political and commerical affairs. For this purpose six young students had been sent by the French to Istabul and Izmir to study oriental languages (Turkish, Arabic, and Persian) and later on their number was increased to twelve (1669-1670). Very able orientalists were trained from among these young students, whom we [Turks] called "Language youth" (dil oğlanĭ).[6]

It is reported, however, that even in the reign of Louis XIII, officials who knew oriental languages and bore the title of "King's Dragomans" were present at court. In 1700, courses on oriental languages (with 22 students) had been established in the Jesuit College. The majority of the students enrolled in these courses were Armenians who would be employed as dragomans in the embassies and consulates and as missionaries in the East. When, later on, this school had been transferred to the famous Lycée of Louis le Grand, the residence assigned to these students was named the Armenian Residence and until the time when it was re-named the Royal Residence, the department of oriental languages continued to be called by this name. In 1721, in the place of the Armenian students, 10 French students whose fathers were in the orient were admitted and they were later sent to the Istanbul School [of Oriental Languages maintained by the French], to complete their training. The school in Istanbul, which was further expanded during the nineteenth century, held classes in the Venetian Palace in Beyoğlu, [Pera] during the winter and at Büyükdere in the summer. Among the teachers there was a Turk named Sahib Efendi whose identity is not known. This man was the spiritual ancestor of the Turkish lecturers in the modern school of living oriental languages in Paris. A school of this type was also established in Teheran by Napoleon Bonaparte.

In France, oriental studies became all the more important for another reason when Louis XVI attempted to compete with Austria by his scheme to establish his right of protection over the Christians living in the Ottoman Empire. Holland also began to be interested in oriental studies in order to examine the state of her Muslim subjects and especially to study Islamic *Sharī'ah*. Moreover, the French king Louis XVI in 1785 ordered the study of the oriental manuscripts contained in his library and important studies on these manuscripts were prepared under the title *Notices et Extraits,* principally by men such as De Guignes, the author of *Histoire des Huns et des Turcs,* Sylvèstre de Sacy, Langlés, Caussin de Perceval and later on A. Jourdain, Abel Rémusat, Quatremère and A. Sédillot. This research was later published in journal form by the Académie

[6] The French translated this term as "jeunes de langue" and, though it had no meaning in French, used it as an official title.

des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres. These studies constitute an important source for oriental research.

These researches and studies took the most organized form, after the French Revolution, with the foundation of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes in 1795 in Paris. We can safely say that modern orientalism began with this school which was founded and headed by Sylvèstre de Sacy, the greatest orientalist the French produced in the last century, and that it trained orientalist professors for the whole of Europe. Because of the great interest shown in science by the Revolutionary Government, the school occupied an illustrious position and attracted eager young scholars from Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Spain who, after obtaining their training, founded oriental studies in their own countries. As a matter of fact, at the invitation of the Russian Czar, Charmois had been sent by the school to establish an oriental institute in St. Petersburg. When some of the scholars who were with Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt laid the foundations of Egyptology, others came into contact with Arab science and this later was a factor in the progress of Islamic studies in this school. It is true that, before the foundation of this school, orientalists in France who had learned oriental languages for missionary or diplomatic purposes gradually had begun to be interested in the languages, history, social life, art and archeology of the oriental peoples; while in Germany we encounter men who studied oriental languages, not for the purpose of understanding Eastern philosophy and philology but in order to attack the church or to convert the Jews or Muslims to Christianity. These scholars sought access to the biblical texts written in ancient languages for purposes of exegesis or correction. But it is not until nearly a century after the foundation of the Paris school that we see the establishment of oriental studies in many German universities, the opening of the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin (1887), the introduction of the study of oriental languages at Cambridge University, England, and later the founding of the School of Oriental Studies in London, in 1906. In Russia, an oriental department had been organized by foreign specialists in the University of Kazan, when it was established in 1804, and in 1854 an oriental department had been organized in the University of St. Petersburg. Today, besides these institutions, there are institutes of orientalism in Baku, Moscow, Tashkent, Vladivostok and in some other centres in Russia. Similar institutes for the study of the Arabic language were also established in Madrid and at Granada.

In the United States, departments of oriental languages and literatures have been established primarily at the University of Chicago and in the universities of Harvard, Columbia and in about five other universities. At the University of Chicago there is also a

separate Oriental Institute, while at Princeton University regular courses in the Turkish, Persian, and Arabic languages are given. A number of American orientalists are working in these institutions at present.

After thus briefly reviewing the period from the rise of the orientalism which mainly aimed at religious propaganda or political penetration to the establishment of the genuine orientalism which sought above all the progress of science, we shall now summarize the course and the development of this science during the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Before we review this period, which lasted for roughly one and a half centuries, we remind our readers that since this is an introduction to the *Encyclopedia of Islam* we shall confine our survey only to those branches of oriental studies which deal with the Muslim peoples. It will suffice to say in passing that within this period separate fields of specialization have been established by the researches made on Chinese, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Indian, and Iranian monuments and inscriptions and that a field which is to-day called African Studies, dealing with the African languages and civilizations before the Arabs, that is, before the 7th century, has been included within the range of oriental studies.

The oriental studies undertaken before the nineteenth century had been primarily concerned with the study of languages, but, did incidentally contribute some knowledge of the history, geography, mores and customs of the peoples through the accounts of travelers. But, with the establishment of scientific orientalism which began, as we mentioned before, with the efforts and contributions of Sylvèstre de Sacy, orientalism now undertook to study the religion, history, geography, art, and literature, in short, all institutions of the East, in addition to language by means of the schools and learned societies which had been organized in France, Germany, England, Italy, Russia, and Spain.

When comparative philology, which was established in the same century, was applied to oriental studies the results cast another beam of light on oriental history. As we noted above, in Germany, the homeland of the Reformation at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, the method of critical interpretation had been developed through the use of Hebrew which had been learned as a tool to employ in the study of the texts of the Holy Bible. This tradition continued in the following centuries, but in the meantime, through another field of studies, orientalism increasingly became interested in Indian studies. When, in the beginnings of the nineteenth century, Anquetil de Perron made available the *Avesta* and Colebrooke drew attention to the *Veda,* Indian studies began to exert a

great influence over the Romantic movement then flourishing in Germany. The influence of these oriental works is discernible in certain works of Schelling and Schopenhauer as well as in the works of Goethe's friend, the celebrated romantic Herder, in whose *Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit* the inspiration of these studies of the *Avesta* and the *Veda* strike the eye.

However, the most important repercussions of the ancient Indian languages in Germany are seen in the case of the Schlegel brothers. Friedrich Schlegel had met an English naval officer (named Hamilton), a prisoner of war, in Paris in 1803-1804 and had learned some Sanskrit from him, while Wilhelm Schlegel studied Indian languages in Paris under de Sacy's pupil Bopp, and upon his return to Germany, he established the chair for Sanskrit at the University of Bonn. The inclusion of Sanskrit in oriental studies later on played the most important role in the development of comparative philology. We must also mention in this connection that Goethe who, during his romantic period, felt an impulse to go outside the limits of his own country and even of the Europe of his time, utilized the translation of the *Ḥamāsa* made by J. G. L. Kosegarten, professor of oriental languages in the University of Jena, when he composed his *West-östliche Diwan.*

It may be understood from what we have just said that oriental studies won importance in Germany by arousing interest among various circles. In fact, thanks to the efforts of de Sacy's pupil H. L. Fleischer, the study of Semitic languages, which until this time had remained an adjunct of theological studies *(ancillae theologiae),* and the study of Arabic now gained an independent position in Germany. It is then that the great German Islamic scholars appeared, whose names we frequently meet in the bibliographies of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* or in connection with their published works, such as F. Wüstenfeld (d. 1899), Ahwardt (d. 1909), Wellhausen (d. 1918), Nöldeke (d. 1930) who wrote the first critical history of the Qur'ān, Bergstraesser, the Arabic specialist who completed the work of Nöldeke and published a second edition of it, and G. L. Flügel, who printed the Qur'ān in Arabic letters in 1842 and 1858 in Leipzig and who numbered the verses. This latter, whose name must be mentioned among Islamic scholars, had published a very useful work under the title of *Concordantiae corani arabicae.* Thanks to this work it is possible to locate a verse in the Qur'ān at once when only one word of it is known. Besides this, Flügel's greatest contribution to oriental studies was his editing and publishing of Kātib Çelebi's *Kashf al-Zunūn* with its Latin translation under the title of, *Lexicon bibliographicum encyclopaedicum Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd Allāh kātib Jelebi dicto et nomine Hāji Khalfa,*

which appeared after thirteen years of study—a valuable bibliographical work which European orientalists still refer to almost every day.[7] After this scholar, it suffices to mention briefly in passing the name of von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856) who is very well known to us [Turks], on account of his famous history of the Ottoman Empire which was almost wholly translated into Turkish by Mehemed Atā Bey, and who wrote two works on the history of Turkish and Arabic literature.

In France, after Sylvèstre de Sacy, we must mention the names of Reinaud who was professor of Arabic in the Collège de France, De Slane, who prepared the Arabic catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and René Basset who was one of the early editors of the *Encyclopedia of Islam.* This latter, who died in 1924, was well known for his wide memorizing of Arabic poetry and had published numerous studies on Algeria and the Maghrib. Besides these scholars there were several others who published works on Islam and on the Arabic language in 19th century France.

In England E. W. Lane (1801-1876) wrote his Arabic dictionary, which is very well known in Europe, after long residence in Egypt. We must also mention Snouck Hurgronje (d. 1938) who visited Mecca and lived there for a time wearing native dress, then published his famous work entitled *Mekka,* and who made many studies on the Islamic *Sharī'ah,* in Java, de Goeje (d. 1909) who was also a Dutch scholar, R. Dozy who won fame by his Arabic dictionary and his *Histoire des Musulmans de L'Espagne,* Baron Rosen, who rendered great service to oriental studies in Russia, Kraçkovski, who won renown by his profound knowledge of Arabic and the Dane, F. Buhl (d. 1934). After the names of Wright, who corrected and edited Caspari's Arabic dictionary in England, and Howell, Lyall, and Bevan, come those of Sir Thomas Arnold, the late professor of Arabic in the London School of Oriental Studies and Margoliouth at Oxford. The Hungarian scholar Goldziher's (d. 1921) masterly works on Muslim jurisprudence and theology should also be remembered here. In Italy, Caetani, who won fame by his great book on the history of Islam; and in France, among those who are the best known scholars in the field of Islamic and Arabic studies and whose articles we find in this Encyclopedia we must recall Marçais, professor of Arabic literature in the Collège de France, Father (the monk) H. Lammens, the Swede Nyberg, Lévi-Provençal, one of the editors of the *Encyclo-*

[7] Thanks to the [Turkish] Ministry of Education's very proper sponsorship the text of *Kaşlif al-Zunūn* is being published in a corrected edition on the basis of the author's own handwritten copy under the supervision of Şerefeddin Yaltkaya who gave his valuable assistance as a member of the editorial committee of the [Turkish edition of the] *Encyclopedia* [of Islam].

pedia of Islam, and especially Massignon, professor of Muslim sociology in the Collège de France.

In Germany, Brockelmann whose *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* is one of the most frequently used source-books for orientalists, A. Hartmann, one of the editors of the Encyclopedia, W. Heffening, A. Schaade, the Dutch scholar Wensinck, the Swedish contributor K. W. Zettersteen, H. Ritter, one of the professors of the University of Istanbul, J. H. Kramers, of the University of Leyden, R. H. Nicholson, who won his fame by his studies on Islamic mysticism and by his translation of [Rūmī's] *Mesnevi,* in England, H. A. R. Gibb,[8] professor of Arabic in the London School of Oriental Studies [1940] and one of the editors of the *Encyclopedia of Islam,* Alfred Guillaume, who is well known by his studies on Islamic jurisprudence and theology, M. R. Houtsma, the late professor of the University of Utrecht and one of the editors of the Encyclopedia, and in Italy, I. Guidi and his son Michel Angello Guidi who are well known orientalists in the field of Islamic and Arabic studies. Levi Della Vida, who is known for his valuable studies on pre-Islamic Arabia, and C. A. Nallino, and in Spain Asin Palacios, who especially studied the history of the Arabs in Spain and Arab mysticism, should also be mentioned.

We shall not make special reference to the names of those who have done work on the Persian language, literature, and history of the Muslim period, because, as there is no clear cut distinction between the Arabic and Persian fields, it suffices to note that many of the scholars mentioned above have also contributed publications to Persian studies. However, in recent years many European scholars have specialized in Persian studies. We must here mention Edward G. Browne, a great friend of the Turks, who won fame by his four-volume history of Persian literature, and Sir Denison Ross, the first director of the School of Oriental Studies in London, who died this year in Istanbul, and finally, H. Massé, the professor of Persian in the Paris school [of Living Oriental Languages] who wrote a fine study on Firdawsi.

Turkology begins with the first scientific researches on the Yakut language carried out by Böhtlingk in 1851. Later on, the Hungarian scholar Armin Vambery published a part of the *Kutadgu Bilig,* and his studies on the Çagatay dialect and on the history of Central Asia in 1870. In 1888 Geza Kuun published the *Codex Cumanicus,* men-

[8] This scholar should not be confused with E. J. W. Gibb, who, half a century earlier, had written a six-volume *History of Ottoman Poetry.* Even greater services to orientalism than this work were made possible by this man after his death thanks to the foundation by his mother of the Gibb Memorial Fund, which has subsidized the publication of numerous works.

tioned above, while in Russia, W. Radlov (1837-1918) collected basic texts of different Turkish dialects, studied Turkish phonetics and laid the foundations of Turkology with his great dictionary of Turkish dialects. He also produced several monographs on old Turkish. We must also mention the Dane, Vilhelm Thomsen, who found the key to the Orkhon inscriptions and who made the first adequate translations and studies on them. Katanov, who was of Altay Turkish origin and professor of Turkish language in the University of Kazan, prepared monographs for a comparative grammar of the Turkish dialects. W. Barthold (1869-1930) distinguished himself, especially in the history of Central Asia, by his research and new interpretations based on original sources. At the end of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century studies on Eastern Turkestan assumed greater importance and the German von le Coq conducted excavations in Eastern Turkestan and produced monographs on the Turkish remains of the period between the 8th and 12th centuries which he also took steps to preserve. F. W. K. Müller compared the old Turkish texts with Chinese, Sanskrit and other texts for the first time, published these findings and thus gave the most scientific orientation to old Turkish studies. In France P. Pelliot, Professor at the Collège de France, made investigations in the Chinese sources which are of interest to Turkish studies. W. Bang-Kaup (1869-1934), some of whose students are in our midst, established the comparative study of the Turkish dialects, published the old Turkish texts in a most adequate form and thus laid the foundations of research along these lines. We must also mention J. A. Mordtmann in Germany, J. Deny, the director of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris and the author of the *Grammaire de la Langue Turque (dialecte Osmanlï),* and T. Kowalski, who made several monographic studies on the Turkish language and especially on the Anatolian and Balkan dialects of Turkish. In Italy, the Turkological studies made by Bonelli of the Instituto [Universitario] Orientale in Naples, are also worthy of mention.[9]

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[9] We must note, in this connection, the *Grammar of the Turkish Language,* written in England by an amateur named A. Lumley Davids, although it has no scientific importance. The author was 18 years old when he wrote it for presentation to Maḥmūd II. If he had not died of cholera in his 21st year [1832] he might have become a learned Turkish specialist. The book was translated into French by his mother [1836] after the author's death, and this time it was presented to Abdülmecid.

However, during the Crimean War, interest in the Turks had increased among the British and while efforts were made to teach Turkish to the English and English to the Turks more serious studies were also begun. As a result of these endeavors a most worthy scholar named J. Redhouse, who had lived in Turkey for many years and had mastered Arabic, Persian and Turkish, produced an

On the other hand, societies to bring scholars into contact with each other and to facilitate the publication of their works began to be founded in Europe and Asia. The interest in the languages and civilization of India which started with the establishment of British rule in India in the eighteenth century led to the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784) by Sir William Jones. The Dutch also found an Asiatic Society in Batavia. In Europe, the Société Asiatique was founded in Paris in 1822, the Royal Asiatic Society in England in 1823, Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft in Germany in 1844, and Asiatic societies were founded in Italy, in Florence in 1886 and subsequently in Rome and Naples. These societies each publish journals which contain the proceedings of the societies and worthwhile articles by member scholars. Besides these journals, the *Türkische Bibliothek* published in Germany after 1904, and the *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* published after 1921 are famed especially for their contributions within the field of Turkological studies. Among these aforementioned societies, The Central Asian and Far Eastern Societies founded as a result of the resolutions adopted at the Orientalist Congress in Rome (1899) and in Hamburg (1902) interest us particularly. The branches of these societies in St. Petersburg and in Budapest have been the most active, and in the years 1899 to 1922 they published the most valuable Turkological review, *Keleti Szemle–La Revue Orientale.*

One of the tasks undertaken by these institutions and societies has been the printing and publication of important manuscripts which had lain on the shelves of the libraries of the Orient for years. The publication of these works did not consist of simply taking a manuscript from a library and giving it to the printing press, but involved, insofar as possible, the editing and comparison of various extant manuscript copies, their correction and the indication of the differences *(variante)* between each copy, a procedure whose necessity and usefulness has only been appreciated in the East in very recent times.

Besides these organizations, various institutes of Archeology founded by the French and the Germans in various countries of the Orient have also been instrumental in the progress of Oriental studies.

We have thus very briefly reviewed the institutions for oriental studies and given a selection of the most distinguished Western

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English-Turkish dictionary of 43,000 words in 1884, and in 1890 a Turkish-English dictionary of 93,000 words. This latter work was based on the words collected from our old history books and *diwans* and had been partially corrected by Ahmed Vefik Paşa. It is an extremely valuable Turkish-English dictionary which we still use today.

orientalists of the nineteenth century and of our own time. It must be added here that it was decided to convene the first International Congress of Orientalists in 1873, in order to make the research carried out by various European schools and societies for Oriental studies known to the world and to facilitate the discussion of various questions raised by these groups. Since that year the International Congresses of Orientalists have continued to meet once every three years in a European city and the proceedings of the meetings have been published in several volumes.

After this historical resumé, we may now attempt to improve upon the definition of the term orientalism which we had found inadequate at the beginning of this article and we may say that present-day orientalism is an organic whole which is composed of the knowledge derived from the original sources concerning the language, religion, culture, history, geography, ethnography, literature and arts of the Orient. In this definition the term Orient is not clear. In orientalism, when we say the Orient, we mean the whole area stretching from the Near East to the Far East and the countries of the north and center of Africa. It is true that various disciplines concerning the ancient peoples living in this area (for example, the peoples of Egypt, Mesopotamia and India) have one by one left the framework of orientalism and each has become a distinct specialized field of investigation. In addition, to this, the history of Science, which has established itself in the last thirty years, is taking unto itself the history of "Science written in Arabic"[10] as one of its very important sections and thus research on the history of science [in the Orient] has divorced itself from the field of orientalism and has moved entirely into the institutes dealing with the history of science.

If we look at the foregoing details objectively, we have to admit that, although the missionary spirit among the orientalists has almost disappeared, the colonial movement which has been established in recent centuries has been a contributory factor in the progress of orientalism. It is obvious that the European schools and institutes of oriental studies which we mentioned above have also been most useful in training officials for the foreign offices. But we must distinguish those who are trained in these institutions for careers in the colonial and foreign services from those who are trained for academic careers and for straightforward scientific purposes. It would be unfair to attribute ulterior motives such as missionary, colonialis-

[10] This rather long term was proposed in a recent International Congress of the History of Science instead of the term "Arab Science" traditionally used in Europe, but, unfortunately, it was not accepted. Yet it is the adequate term, because among the scholars who wrote in Arabic there were Turks, Persians, etc., and therefore, to use the term "Arab Science" is both inaccurate and unjust.

tic and diplomatic objectives to the orientalist scholars who are solely concerned with science. We must not continue without noting, moreover, that one of the reasons for the recent interest shown in oriental studies throughout the West, including the U.S.A., is the fact that the East is still comparatively virgin soil and that it is easier to find subjects for original research in this area.

Although our intellectual life had directly inherited the science produced in Arabic and thus had naturally been interested, from the beginning, in Islamic studies, which constitute a part of oriental studies, the works done in this field cannot be regarded as oriental studies [in the modern sense]. It is true that in the beginning rational and traditional sciences were taught in the Turkish *Medreses* in the Arabic language; but later these teachings were confined only to language, *Fiqh* and *Kalām*. With a few exceptions, the majority of the works produced were confined to commentaries, exegesis, marginal notes and eventually to Turkish translations.

Turkological studies, on the other hand, started only very recently [in Turkey]. *The Turkish Hearth* (Türk Ocağĭ) founded after the constitutional régime [1908] had started the movement of Turkism in Turkey. The leaders of this movement attempted to make the origins of a kind of scientific Turkism begin with Ahmed Vefik Paşa, Şinasi, Ali Suavi and even Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa, and made an effort to trace it back into an even earlier period as far as possible basing their claims on a few books and articles written during the Tanẓimat period [circa 1826-1876] on the Eastern Turks, the Turkish dialects and on the purification of the language. After the Balkan wars, beside this romantic Turkish movement, we see the rise, under the leadership of Ziya Gökalp, of a sociological Turkism which was, in fact, the ideology of the movement. Before the constitutional revolution a few Turkological studies utilizing the works of the European orientalists had been made by Necip Asĭm, Veled Çelebi İzbudak and their associates, who worked in connection with the daily paper *Ikdam,* edited by the late Ahmed Cevdet. Some researches which might conceivably have been included within the framework of Turkology were also continued after the constitutional revolution [1908]. However, none of these can be regarded as scientific Turkological studies in a systematic sense. It was only through the efforts and the works of Fu'ad Köprülü, who became a contributor to the *Encyclopedia of Islam* on the strength of his valuable essays on the history of Turkish literature, that truly scientific Turkological studies, utilizing original sources and documents, were established in the University of Istanbul, and that, eventually, in 1924, the Institute of Turkology was founded. Subsequently, the *Türkiyat Mecmuasĭ* began to be published. This Institute has taken its own special place among the similar institutions of Europe thanks to the

efforts and publications of the scholars who are collaborating with us today.

Before we give some information regarding the editing of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* and its [Turkish] translation it is only fair to speak of the previous attempts to publish encyclopedias in our country. Before we mention the works and the attempts which will directly interest us in this connection, it suffices to remind the reader of the existence of the biographies of the *'ulamā,* the *Tezkere*'s of the poets, the genealogies of the Muslim Shaikhs and leaders, the *hadikah*'s of the vizirs, the *mawzū'āt al-'Ulūm* which only list the main topics and give bibliographies of the sciences, the works which dealt with the terminologies of zoology, botany and geography and in most cases bore titles such as *'Acā'ib al-Maḫlūḳāt,* or *Ḫarīdat al-'Acā'ib,* or their translations. Although these works cannot be regarded as encyclopedia in the modern sense, they can still be taken as of the same nature. As a matter of fact, the method of alphabetical arrangement of the subjects of the modern encyclopedia had its origin in the Orient. We do not need to mention these books one by one since the titles of most of them will be encountered frequently in the bibliographical notes of this Encyclopedia.

In Turkey, more modern forms of such works began to appear in the 19th century. A work entitled *Lûğat-i Tarihiye ve Coğrafiye* by Ahmed Rifat Efendi, a member of the [Ottoman] Council of Accounts (Divanî Muhasebat) had been completed in 1299 A.H. and the last of its seven volumes appeared in 1300 [1883-84]. In spite of its title, this work contained several articles on physics, chemistry, and other sciences in addition to history and geography and, therefore, it is a small encyclopedia. This work, produced by its author singly, by utilizing European sources, is an important contribution for his time, in spite of its many shortcomings. *Sicill-i 'Osmānî,* a biographical dictionary of distinguished Ottomans, in four volumes, compiled by Mehmed Süreyya, a member of the [Ottoman] Grand Council of Education, appeared in 1308 [1890-91]. This work, which had been prepared by utilizing histories, old *tezkere*'s, genealogies of the shaikhs, the books of the dervish orders and even tombstones, is a useful book. In Beirut, an encyclopedia in its real sense started to be published in 1876 under the title of *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif* by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, who dedicated his work to Murad V. The seventh and eighth volumes of this encyclopedia were published by the author's son Sālim al-Bustānī and the remaining volumes by his other sons and his relative Sulaimān al-Bustānī, who was a member of the Ottoman senate.

Şemseddin Sami, of whom we can always be proud, had started his *Dictionary of Great Names (Ḳāmūs al-A'lām),* which was the best of its kind, in 1306 (1899). This great work, consisting of six volumes

and still used by our teachers and students today, contains biographical and geographical articles. The articles concerning the Orient and Islam were prepared after study based directly on the original Oriental sources. Şemseddin Sami wrote in his Introduction: "It must not be forgotten in this connection that the importance of certain matters varies according to the Arab, or Turkish and Ottoman point of view. . . . A certain well in a corner of Najd, or hill in the Dahna, or a valley in the Tihama, mentioned simply because they are found in a poem of Imru'al-Kays or Mutanabbī do not mean much to us. Since we come across many matters in the Arabic books which have no significance for us from the point of view of time and place, we can only collect information from the Arabic works by means of a selective process." We may infer from this that the author did not prepare his work simply by compiling or translating, but that he thought over the relative importance of the subjects and improved upon his sources. Therefore, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām,* while it is a general dictionary of history and geography, also forms the nucleus of an encyclopedia of Islam or of the Orient. Criticisms to be levelled against its shortcomings must be made bearing in mind the fact of 'Abdul Ḥamīd II's powerful censorship system under which it was published. *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām* was thus, the first encyclopedic dictionary of the East and West published in Turkey in a European sense. In this connection we commemorate the author's great name with respect and affection.

Again, before the constitutional revolution, a *Muḥīt al-Ma'ārif* [Encyclopedia] began to appear in 1318 [1900-01] under the editorship of Emrullah Efendi, the first professor of philosophy in the University of Istanbul. The work was published on behalf of Ahmed Cevdet, the editor of *Ikdam* [newspaper], but only its first volume, which ended with the article on *Āṣuī Nazi Hapal,* appeared. Although the authors' names appeared under some of the articles, we do not know exactly who else collaborated with Emrullah Efendi. A hard-working and scrupulous investigator, Emrullah Efendi preferred to show a wide degree of erudition in this work. The articles on positive sciences and on European history and geography were based on previously published European encyclopedias and the articles on the East, Islam and the Turks were written or commissioned entirely anew utilizing original sources. The authors went to the sources in the preparation and composition of these articles and this shows that they gave importance to independent writing rather than to mere translation and this adds credit to the work. *Muḥīt al-Ma'ārif* was to have been a general encyclopedia in the precise sense of the word, that is, it was not to be confined only to history and geography, but it was to include material on all the sciences. Instead of continuing the publication of the book after the constitutional

revolution, this first volume was re-published in 1328 [1910] under the title of *Yeni Muḥīt al-Ma'ārif* [New Encyclopedia] in order to add certain portions which had not been saved from the censor during the tyrannical period of 'Abdul Ḥamīd II. But this second edition is no better than the first from the point of view of printing. It must be admitted that certain articles of this *Muḥīt al-Ma'ārif* relating to Ottoman Turkey and even to the Islamic world are more comprehensive than the corresponding articles in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* although the former remained incomplete. The efforts of Emrullah Efendi to achieve this work with the help of his few associates is a contribution to Turkish intellectual life that should be remembered with admiration and appreciation.

In addition, after the constitutional revolution, two volumes of an illustrated encyclopedia entitled *Yeni Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif* were published in 1332-1333 (1913-15) under the editorship of Ali Reşad, Ali Seydi, Mehmed 'İzzet and A. Feuillet, professor in the Galatasaray Lycée. In contrast to *Muḥīt al-Ma'ārif,* this work depended primarily upon European sources and especially on the Larousse Encyclopedia for its material. In the articles relating to Islam and the Turks no special effort was made to refer to the original sources. However, under the term *"İstişrāk",* probably for the first time in Turkey, there was given a comprehensive account of orientalism. It must be added that this work did not only contain proper names and scientific subjects, but it was at the same time a dictionary. It is our duty to remember the authors of this great endeavor which also remained incomplete.

The *Encyclopedia of Islam,* whose Turkish translation is now presented by the Ministry of Education of Republican Turkey to the Turkish intellectual world, was begun in 1908 by the well-known publisher E. J. Brill in Leyden which is the center of orientalism in Holland and probably in the whole world. The work, which began to be published under the editorship of the scholars whose names appear on the title page, occupies 5312 pages with its appendices. Its publication costs were met by the International Union of Academies and by certain rich European and American friends of Islam. In the organization of the work the topics were first selected in consultation with specialists and then, after the final selection had been made, were allocated to various scholars. The contributors to the work, which appeared simultaneously in German, French and English editions, were German, French, English, Dutch, Italian, Russian, Turkish and Arab scholars. The majority of the articles were written by the German scholars or were written originally in the German language—a fact which we want to mention in advance in order to explain the course which we followed in [our] translation, as we shall point out below.

If we want to judge the degree of perfection or the shortcomings of the work we may say that, being a work on historical, geographical and ethnographic subjects and dealing with abstract concepts relating to Islamic *fiqh, kalām,* philosophy, and science, and the mores and customs of the Muslims, it has been prepared by men whose competence and authority are beyond doubt in the majority of cases, and this is a sufficient guarantee to make it a dependable reference book on the whole. We must add that every article in such a grand work could not be of equal value. However, it cannot be denied that in the selection of the contributors [the editors] were sometimes deceived by false names. Another point of criticism is the fact that, as the work was undertaken internationally, and as certain subjects were assigned to the specialists who came from countries having colonial relations with the particular areas discussed in their articles, they tended to overstress their own topics and, moreover, a certain lack of balance in the whole of the work resulted from the prolixity of some writers who were not accustomed to write encyclopedic articles. For example, an article on Morocco or North Africa assigned to a French orientalist unnecessarily occupies several columns whereas another article on a country which has been more important in world history occupies only half a column. However, this disproportion or the inclusion of certain articles which do not seem very essential to us does not at all diminish the value of the work. On this point, we do not share Şemseddin Sami's opinion, mentioned above, and believe that in science even apparently irrelevant and superfluous knowledge will ultimately prove of value.

It may also be seen that there are some irregularities and errors in the articles themselves. It was for this reason that a fifth, supplementary, volume was added to the four-volume work and, although some errors and omissions were corrected, the work has not yet been brought to complete perfection. Many names were entirely forgotten, especially in the preparation of the topical cards. To give an example of the most noteworthy of these omissions we merely mention Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī, a great scientist, and Abū-l-Qāsim, al-Zahrawī, the greatest physician of the middle ages. Another shortcoming of the work is seen in the lack of exactitude in the translations made from one of the three languages to another. In the course of our translation we have observed that sometimes the original translations made from German and English into French or from French to German and English have proved to be unreliable. For this reason we decided to make the Turkish translations directly from the language in which the various articles were originally written.

Besides these, the passage of time, which is beyond the control, not only of the editors of the Encyclopedia, but of every human being, has left certain deposits on the pages of the work. Most of the out-

dated articles are those on history and geography. The data given in this work, whose first fascicule appeared in 1908, on the political geography or population of a country cannot be expected to correspond to present-day conditions. It is true that in the supplementary volume, which appeared in 1938, some of these changes were corrected and the work was brought up to date, but still these corrections are far from being adequate. In this connection, we must remember that the Encyclopedia was published between 1908 and 1938, that is, over a period of thirty years, and that, in the interval, World War I had intervened. The Encyclopedia was published in a period longer than was originally anticipated. Although it was prepared by many contributors, in 1908 only three fascicules consisting of 240 pages and in 1909 only one fascicule could be published. Finally, in 1912 five fascicules were published and this constituted a record. That this slowness was due not simply to actual writing, but to composition and printing delays has been borne out by our own experiences. In spite of all these shortcomings the *Encyclopedia of Islam* is a grand achievement which today is unique in all the world, a work whose usefulness cannot be ignored in the Islamic and Turkish fields of orientalism and one which, on account of the close connection between Turkish and Islamic history and culture until recent times, cannot be neglected by us Turks. . . .

The concluding five pages of the *Mukaddime,* also translated by Professors Reed and Berkes, are not printed here for economy of space. They concern details of the arrangements for publication, and in particular the sponsoring of the scheme by the Turkish Ministry of Education. It was at once realised that the material in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* when it became available to all Turkish scholars would stimulate and provoke much scholarly activity in enlarging, criticising or emending its contents. While it would thus be a work of national importance, it could hardly be at the same time a work of rapid sale or commercial profit. In May 1939, therefore, the Minister of Education officially approved the project and entrusted the work of translation to the Faculty of Letters of the University of Istanbul. The latter, with the approval of the Ministry, set up a translating bureau and an editorial committee. The decision to make substantial corrections and additions and sometimes to rewrite certain articles was taken only after the original purpose of translation alone proved impracticable. It was also decided to omit articles dealing with personalities still living, except in the case of Chiefs of State.

The committee sought to follow truly scientific and objective standards in the corrections, additions and new articles. It also endeavored to maintain a harmony between various translations from the point of view of style, terminology and degree of loyalty to the original text. The Introduction ends with the hope that the addition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* to the library of Turkish culture may serve as a preparation for the larger task of producing a *Great Turkish Encyclopedia.*

Studies in Muslim Ethics. By Dwight M. Donaldson, Ph.D., D.D., S.P.C.K., London, 1953. pp. xi, 304. 27s. 6d.

The author of this interesting volume has had long contact with the world of Islam—as a missionary to Muslims in Iran for more than thirty years, and more recently in India, where he served as Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies at Aligarh. This direct personal contact with Muslims and their two most important languages, Arabic and Persian, has been of great service to him in tracing the development of Muslim ethics from its "roots" in the Qur'ān and tradition through the later developments as found in the works of the principal Arabic and Persian authorities. Dr. Donaldson has been pursuing a study of this subject for quite a long time, since, in his personal experience as a missionary in Persia, he was constantly confronted with the ethical problems facing Islam in this rapidly changing modern world.

He makes it clear that this study is primarily addressed to Muslim students of university level who know English, who may never have the opportunity to investigate the extensive ethical literature in the Persian and Arabic of their own Islamic authorities. He states his aim as being "to set forth examples of Muslim ethical thought in so far as it relates to personal conduct. . . . For naturally modern university Muslim students desire to know what there is of permanent ethical value in the writings of their own theologians, philosophers, and poets, and to have examples of these teachings set before them in a convenient form and in the same language (English) in which they are asked to study other systems of ethics."

In this undertaking Dr. Donaldson has searched far and wide through the Islamic literature on the subject ranging through the ethics of the Qur'ān and Tradition. From this area he passes on to consideration of Ibn Maskawaihī's *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq,* which had such direct influence upon the great Muslim philosopher al-Ghazālī, whose writings, in turn, exercised an influence on Medieval Jewish and Christian thought. One of the most interesting chapters deals with the ethics of the Persian Ṣūfī poets whose writings have such an extensive and vital effect on Muslims today, especially in Iran, Pakistan and India. He has given us illuminating quotations from such well-known productions as the poems of Farīd al-Dīn al-'Aṭṭār and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Shaikh Sa'dī's *Gulistān* and *Bustān* and the *Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ.*

After a survey of the general development of Muslim ethics from the earliest Islamic times, students of Islam will find the two last chapters of even greater interest, because of their contemporary significance. Here we find an appraisal of the inspired efforts in the 19th century of Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh based on their "inspired" conviction concerning "the ability of Islam to reform and adapt itself to modern civilization." Dr. Donaldson then goes on to consider the views of Muslim writers of the present century and quotes from *The Concept of Society in Islam* by Dr. Sayyid 'Abd al-Laṭīf of India whose argument in general, he contends, "is consistent with the demands of ethical monotheism, whether in Judaism, Christianity, or Islam." The author who attracts

his attention most, however, is the late Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl, whose Oxford lectures on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* seek to bring Islam into line with modern thought. An interesting example of this "reconstruction" is explained by Dr. Khalīfa 'Abd al-Ḥakīm with reference to the doctrine of *Taqdīr* as held by Iqbāl . . . as follows: *Taqdīr* has evolutionary significance and "does not mean that the actions of each individual have been determined by God beforehand, but that *Taqdīr* is nothing more than the law of life! Not only man but rather the whole universe is rising from a lower to a higher level. There is no limit to the progress of man. . . ."

On the whole the book is a sympathetic consideration of the problem of ethics in and for the Muslim world of yesterday, today and tomorrow. It points out that while "the ideal for Islam is for a community of mankind that will not be inhibited by racial or national barriers," the Christian conception of the Kingdom of God goes much farther and deeper into the moral and spiritual life of man, for "Jesus' transforming gospel of hope and salvation would make all men and women children of a loving, spiritual Father and therefore heirs of eternal life."

Under the pressure of modern circumstances the Muslim world is today being forced to face up to realities which are putting the Faith to a supreme test—situations which undoubtedly are producing "searchings of heart" all across its vast areas. One hopes that there will be in due course "searchings" that will go farther and deeper even than those referred to by the author in connection with the names of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh, and Muḥammad Iqbāl.

This study by Dr. Donaldson is a valuable contribution to the literature bearing on the interpretation of Islam. It will be found especially useful for missionaries to Muslims in any land. We hope it will be appreciated also by those Muslims who are to-day interested in the ethical problems and developments facing their own community in relation to the rest of the world, for they are a vital and vigorous part of it.

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Avicenna: Scientist and Philosopher. A Millenary Symposium. Edited by G. M. Wickens, London, Luzac & Co., 1952, pp. 128, 15s.

La Pensee Religieuse d'Avicenne. By Louis Gardet, Paris, Vrin, 1951, pp. 235.

This book consists of six lectures by Cambridge 'dons' delivered to mark the millenary (by Islamic reckoning) of Ibn Sīnā's birth. The lectures, given in Cambridge from January to March 1951, deal with Avicenna: His Life and Times, Avicenna's place in Arabic Philosophy, Some Aspects of Avicenna's Work, Avicenna's Influence on Jewish Thought, Avicenna's Influence on the Mediaeval Scientific Tradition, and Avicenna and Western Thought in the 13th century. This description will give some idea of the character of the work. The six lecturers are not specialists on Avicenna but scholars whose interests bring them within range of his thought. If the reader bears this in mind and realizes that opinions of greater authority may revise or even contradict some of the lecturers' assertions, then he

may regard this volume as a useful general introduction to the study of an important Arabic philosopher. Professor Arberry, the originator of the plan, and Mr. Wickens, the captain of the team, are to be congratulated both on the happy idea of having the course and on producing the first general work on Avicenna in English.

M. Gardet's book, on the contrary, is the product of detailed study of the works of Avicenna by a scholar who combines great erudition with a high degree of philosophical insight. His aim is to determine the part played by the Islamic religion in Avicenna's thought. Can he properly be called an Islamic philosopher? Did he really believe in the doctrines of Islam, or did he merely profess to believe in them in order to avoid persecution? Again, even if he believed in them, was this belief intimately connected with his general philosophical outlook, or was it an unrelated appendage?

M. Gardet's answer is that Avicenna genuinely believed in the fundamentals of Islam. He considered that the truths derived from reason and revelation were congruent; but when he had to explain seeming inconsistencies, he did so by interpreting the statements of revelation in the light of philosophy. Thus his profession of belief was genuine so far as he himself was concerned; but his outlook was basically philosophical (in the main Neoplatonic), and critics like al-Ghazālī were therefore justified in accusing him of heresy. On the other hand, Islamic doctrine was an important influence in moulding his philosophy. Dominant themes, such as the unity of God, the fact of prophethood and revelation, and the continued existence of the individual in Paradise or Hell, raised important philosophical questions and so helped to give his system its distinctive characteristics. Avicenna, then, in M. Gardet's view, is essentially a Neoplatonist in spirit; the Islamic element in him, however, is not peripheral, but is found at the very heart of his Neoplatonism.

Such a view is not merely attractive in itself but is likely to win the approval of historians of philosophy. The argument for it surveys much of Avicenna's philosophy in a wide sweep, and the book thus forms about the best introduction to his thought as a whole in any European language.

The present interest in Avicenna in both East and West, as shown by the celebration of his millenary and the publication of such books, should be noted and carefully pondered by all who have at heart the furthering of communication between Islam and Western Christendom. The philosophical movement represented by Avicenna was crushed in its original home by the criticisms of al-Ghazālī, though it had a profound influence on the orthodox theology of Islam in the East and on mediaeval Jewish and Christian philosophy in the West. Now, however, Muslim theologians are turning wistfully towards Avicenna, as a great Islamic thinker who is highly respected by the West. Here, then, is a point at which communication ought to be possible. For those who have such a concern at heart, M. Gardet's thesis of the genuinely Islamic character of Avicenna's thought (in contrast to previous European writers who denied this) is seen to be of more than academic interest.

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The Ring of the Dove. By Ibn Ḥazm, translated by A. J. Arberry. London, Luzac & Company, 1953, pp. 288, 25s.

Be it said at the beginning that despite its blend of accuracy and charm, Professor Arberry's translation will not supersede Dr. A. R. Nykl's earlier version *(A Book Containing the* Risāla *Known as the Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers,* Paris, 1931). The very elegance with which Professor Arberry renders Ibn Ḥazm's prose into congenial English and, even more so, the shrewdness and bravado with which he re-casts his verse in English poetry safe-guards the value of his predecessor's work. For Nykl's sometimes heavy but always faithful phrasing preserves some significant detail which Arberry has had to sacrifice to considerations of stylistic grace. On the other hand, Arberry has at certain points tacitly corrected Nykl's interpretation. This observation applies especially to the renderings of the poetical pieces which Ibn Ḥazm, in accordance with age-old Arab custom, inserted in his disquisition in such generous numbers. Another reason why Arberry's book can not simply be substituted for Nykl's is the important introduction which Nykl added to his translation and in which he investigated the relationship between the kind of love analyzed and advocated by Ibn Ḥazm and that reflected in the writings of the troubadours.

There are not too many Arabic books that could be classified as *belles lettres* and that are at the same time of a sufficiently strict composition to be in their entirety attractive to a modern occidental reader. The success which *The Ring of the Dove* has enjoyed in the West for the last thirty or forty years is in part due to the clarity and consistency with which the author expounds his subject; in part of course it is the subject itself that has captured an ever-growing audience for Ibn Ḥazm. The theory of love well illustrated by incidents taken from real life (at times the author's own) and which Ibn Ḥazm's skill and tact never allowed to evaporate into lifeless metaphysical reflections (as happened to Avicenna) nor to degenerate into advice to the love-lorn and the merely sensual (as happened to quite a few Arabic writers on the subject) proved of all the more immediate interest as Ibn Ḥazm's concept of love which is platonizing yet tempered by respectful realism is none-too-far removed from a sentimental attitude which while it may not be our own yet easily could be. It was only in 1914 that the Russian scholar D. K. Pétrof published the full text of Ibn Ḥazm's treatise. Scarcely forty years later we possess no less than six translations into western tongues, an unusual response to an Arabic work.

Ibn Ḥazm, the son of a high official and himself for a short time vizier to one of the ephemeral princes of the declining Umayyad dynasty in Cordova, wrote *The Ring of the Dove* in his youth. Upon his retirement from the political scene he became a leading scholar of the Ẓāhirite school and established his fame for all times by his voluminous study of religious history *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī-l-milal* (Cairo, 1317-21; abridged translation by M. Asín Palacios, Madrid, 1927-32). The interest in the theory of love Ibn Ḥazm shared with other lawyer-theologians of the Ẓāhirite school, in fact with the son of the founder himself; and it is possible to follow the transfer to Spain from its original center, Baghdad, of the platonizing love theories along with the legal doctrines of the rite. The use made by Ibn Ḥazm of the dove

as the symbol of pure love longing goes back several centuries. It had become a common-place in 9th century Baghdad, if not earlier, and the numerous descriptions of the dove rarely omit a reference to its "neck ring" the white streak which breaks the uniformity of its plumage at the bottom of its neck (cf., e.g., the versions collected by Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* [Cairo, 1938-45/1356-64], III, 195-205). On the whole, one is inclined to feel that Ibn Ḥazm's merit lies less in the originality of his attitude and insights (which were in tune with a distinct tradition) than in his sentimental ability to present them systematically yet without pedantry and to personalize them without destroying their general validity.

Professor Arberry has hit the tone of Ibn Ḥazm's book, that clever lightness never too far from melancholy, that civilized tenderness which, however, does not always protect the author from sudden descents into over-directness. It is in the poetical pieces when perhaps on occasion more of the literal meaning had to be sacrificed to arrive at acceptable English poetry than one should wish in the interests of a more precise grasp of Ibn Ḥazm's literary personality. But in view of Dr. Nykl's more analytical if more pedantic renderings one may well forego constant comparison with the Arabic original and enjoy the rhythms and rhymes in which Professor Arberry has caught the spirit and intent of his earnestly playful author.

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Jesus in Heaven on Earth. By Al-Ḥājj Khaja Nazīr Aḥmad; The Woking Muslim Mission & Literary Trust, Woking, England and Azeez Manzil, Lahore, Pakistan, 1952, pp. xiv & 416. Rs 15/-.

People who are a little puzzled by the title of this book may be helped if they will think of it as the Kashmir equivalent of British Israel, for the author is convinced that Kashmir is the Land of Promise and that the Afghans and Kashmiris are the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Bethpeor is really Behatpoor, that is, Bandipur; some twelve miles away is Heshbon, namely Hashba, and eight miles off is Baal Nabu, the Biblical Mount Nebo (p. 266). To this earthly paradise came Jesus, the shepherd of lepers and the one whose mission was to seek for 'the lost'; not merely the outcaste and sinful, but rather, quite literally, 'the lost tribes of Israel.' He visited Kashmir after the 'crucifixion' about A.D. 60 and lived there till 109. "Thus, taking his date of birth to be in 8 B.C.E. he was 117 years of age at the time of his death" (p. 386). Some readers will realize that this book is a re-statement of the thesis of Hazrat Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad who published several volumes between 1893 and 1909; these are listed in the bibliography but, so far as I could discover, there is only one reference to him (p. 41) and that not with the Kashmir residence of the resuscitated Jesus in mind.

It will be asked, of course, on what possible grounds such a view of the life and mission of Jesus can be entertained; and clearly an author who holds it must wrestle seriously with the Christian tradition that Jesus truly died on the Cross and was truly buried. He must first demonstrate that all this is fiction of the first order; he must produce sources of unimpeachable authenticity that prove his own case, and how much more effective if he can actually 'produce the body'!

Naturally the Christian believer approaches the thesis with the utmost scepticism and a feeling that it is all nonsense of the weirdest kind. He may find it difficult to keep his composure when he reads that in the New Testament there are wicked forgeries and that "the audacity and shamelessness of Paul has no parallel in history" (p. 6) because he deliberately sacrificed the real human Jesus to an invented Christology of the Son of God type. But the author addresses himself to seekers after truth and protests that he has written "with the best intentions" (p. xiii); his final sentence shows his deep regard for the prophet Jesus, "May the Almighty grant him eternal peace and bless his soul. Ameen!" (p. 388). We may, therefore, grant the writer a courteous hearing and proceed to examine the grounds upon which he has invited us to abandon the most central elements in our Christian faith.

Very briefly let me summarize what he has to say about his sources. (i) the silence of Jewish sources is remarkable. (ii) from writers like Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny the Younger and Celsus (printed as Celcus) all that can be learned is "that in Judaea there had existed a Jew named Jesus, sometimes called *Christo* (sic), who taught people and did wonderful works and was killed by Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius and that he had a special sect which also existed in Rome fifty years after his death, and that, on account of this community, the Jews were expelled from Rome" (p. 3). No attempt is made to show that the Roman historians refer to a death that did not take place, although this is fundamental to the author's view. This external evidence, it is true, does not amount to much, but such as it is it serves to confirm what is accepted in most circles, namely that Jesus was indeed killed under Pontius Pilate in the reign of the emperor Tiberius. This is what the Roman authorities believed at the beginning of the second century of the Christian era and it probably reflects earlier judgments, for Tacitus and Suetonius have used material antedating their own compositions. So far we have no ground for doubting that Jesus the Christ was actually crucified. (iii) the New Testament sources as a whole are unreliable propaganda. Their proper text is not known and textual critics in the churches themselves discuss the variants caused by scribal frailty or sometimes scribal dogma that conflicted with the reading to be copied. In more than 4000 Greek MSS there is, therefore, considerable variety. Our author describes some of these manuscript changes as "glaring but pious forgeries" (p. 17).

It is very unfortunate that the author has spent such little time in mastering the science of textual criticism. He makes howlers like this: codex Alexandrinus (A) was found by Cyril Luker (sic) in 1621; after the first printed editions of Ximenes, Erasmus and Stephenus (sic) a search was made for the ancient MSS "and, apart from those already mentioned, two more manuscripts saw the light of day—that of Westcott and Host (sic) (1881) and that of Nestle (1901); and they caused all the more confusion" (p. 15). Confusion indeed! Westcott & Hort and Nestle are editions of a critical text of the New Testament, based on the widest collation of all the materials available to the editors. Even the most superficial acquaintance with a short handbook on N.T. textual criticism would reveal that practically none of the variants is of substantial importance, although in detail there are dozens of places where a critical edition will differ from the Greek text underlying the King James Version or the Latin Vulgate.

It is frankly admitted by many scholars that our New Testament sources were written "from faith to faith," *but it is inherent in the faith that certain historical events must have taken place.* These include the birth of Jesus as a Jew; his baptism at the hands of John the Baptist who called Israel to repentance in view of an imminent eschatological crisis; his own call and ministry during which he healed many of their diseases and did mighty acts that were consonant with his Message, "the Kingdom of God is at the door . . . harlots and tax collectors are going in ahead of the 'righteous' "; the teaching of an inner group of disciples; popular acclaim followed by increasing hostility so that he foresaw his own rejection by the leaders of the Jews; betrayal by one of this inner group; desertion by them all; arrest; trial and condemnation on the double charges agreeable to Jew and Roman (a) that he falsely claimed to be Messiah and in a unique relationship with God and (b) that as Messiah he was a rebel against the Roman emperor, for Messiah meant 'King of Israel'; *all this culminating in crucifixion by the Roman government at the instance of the Jewish religious and civil leaders.* By patient analysis Christian N.T. study seeks to show that this pattern appears in all the oldest strata in the New Testament: the Pauline letters, the early part of Acts, the Passion Narrative of Mark. Moreover, the fact of the crucifixion was rehearsed weekly from the start in a simple ritual, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

These documents do not try to cover up for Judas, one of the intimate friends of Jesus, nor for Peter, another of them; they still show the disciples as misunderstanding their Master until after his death and triumph. One could appreciate being told that a resurrection of the literal type suggested by some Gospel narratives did not happen; one finds it absurd to be assured that the death of Jesus did not take place as a result of the crucifixion. The scandal of Christianity has always been this insistence that a crucified carpenter could be the Messiah expected by the Jews. Paul's substantial agreement with the primitive tradition has been discussed by Johannes Weiss, C. H. Dodd and other scholars and may be conveniently seen in *Paul and His Predecessors* by A. M. Hunter.

The strongest protest must be entered against the kind of judgment passed on Paul and the utterly stupid exegesis of his words on page 6 of this book. There we are told that Paul "resorted to falsehood" and admitted it in Romans iii.7. The author does not even quote accurately the R.V. text which he uses first ("But [mg. For] if the truth of God through my lie abounded unto his glory, why am I also still judged as a sinner?"). Paul is replying to a supposed objection to his teaching that God remains faithful despite human infidelity, the infidelity of chosen Jew and of the Gentile alike. The objector is saying, "But if human faithlessness thus enables God to exhibit his own magnificent fidelity, why shouldn't we sin? Sin simply gives God a chance to show how godly he is! So let us do evil that good may result." Arguments of this sort are dismissed by Paul as beneath contempt, for they demonstrate that those who make them have not one ounce of moral sense. So Romans iii.7 has nothing to do with any consciousness on Paul's part that he has built up his creed on a false foundation. But our author, despite his protestations, gladly tries to make such a point against the Christian Scriptures and saints. This

kind of thing indicates the critical ability he brings to bear on his sources. It probably serves to reveal the Muslim attitude as a whole, for it is essential to Islam that the Qur'ān should be inerrant, infallible, the final and only Word of God. Christians, at least of the enlightened kind, do not pretend that their Bible is in itself, in the letter, in every jot and title of its original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek texts, an infallible divine revelation. The matter goes much further than that. Christians are open to the Truth, even to the truth about the human transmission of the history of their Lord. They are prepared for mistakes by scribes. They still search for more ancient MSS and Versions. They subject their sacred literature to the most rigorous and scientific scrutiny possible and are not unduly disconcerted by differences among New Testament critics. For they know that the foundation of their faith depends as well on the present experience of the Living Christ and the transforming power of the Holy Spirit in their lives. And they find the record adequate to the revelation which is personal, since the Word of God is Christ.

Divergences in the sources are very marked with respect, not to the death of Jesus, but his resurrection. It may be admitted that as time went on legendary facts were introduced into the narratives. But there is a very old tradition in I Corinthians xv which lists the appearances of the risen Christ to Peter, the Eleven (though Paul uses the technical term Twelve), to some five hundred, to James (probably the Lord's brother) and to Paul last of all. Some of these people were alive when I Corinthians was written and their evidence could be checked. Paul handed on what he had received, from the original disciples. Whatever the objective facts of the resurrection appearances, and doubt on this score must remain, there can be no question that primitive and all subsequent catholic Christianity rests on there having been "appearances" of Jesus Christ as victor over death and the grave. The Apostles affirm it; they say that without this their faith is in vain; this is the foundation of the gospel of forgiveness. And to this the divine Presence, the Spirit of Truth, bears witness in the hearts of humble, loving, penitent souls who find that the word of Jesus comes home to conscience and heart. Whatever their failings, and there are many, they unite in the conviction that they know Jesus and the power of his resurrection in significant measure, both privately and in the corporate fellowship of his Body the Church.

It is obviously impossible to discuss in detail each single point raised in the book; for a helpful statement of present-day scholarship I would recommend to the author and his fellow-Muslims the recently published second edition of A. H. McNeile's *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (edited by C. S. C. Williams).

(iv) After 18 short pages on the N.T. sources we get 55 on the Qur'ān and Hadīth of Islam. The argument adds up quite simply to the proposition that these alone come from the one true God and have been handed down in purity; we may, therefore, take without question what they tell us about Jesus. This is to the effect that he was the son of Mary and Joseph and that he was a prophet of God; he was a mortal and he died (p. 150). So far as I can discover, the Qur'ān is not quoted to prove that Jesus died some time after the so-called crucifixion; Surah XXIII.50 is mentioned as if it meant that Mary and

her Son were given shelter in the lofty meadows and springs of Kashmir (p. 376). But the opinion of Shaikh Maḥmūd Shalṭūṭ of Al-Azhar University, Cairo, is given that the verse, "When Allah said: O Jesus! I will cause you to die and exalt you in My presence and clear you of those who disbelieve" (misprinted as believe, p. 227), III.51-55, means that Jesus "will complete the period of his life till he dies a natural death neither being slain nor yet crucified and then He will exalt him in His presence." The reasoning is perverse. From the context, Surah III.51-55 must be read as an assurance that Allah is the One in whose purpose the death of Jesus takes place and Who will vindicate Jesus and those who believe in him. Similarly Surah IV.157-158 claims for Allah the only certainty about the death of the Messiah, son of Mary; i.e. his death is not what Christians say of it, the way of atonement and salvation for the world.

(v) Hence the author must find other sources that will fill in the gaps about the resuscitation of Jesus and his subsequent career. The kind of literary document he relies on may be illustrated from *The Crucifixion by an Eye-witness*. 'This book is an English translation of an ancient Latin copy of a "letter written seven years after the crucifixion by a personal friend of Jesus in Jerusalem to an Essene Brother in Alexandria." . . . This book was withdrawn from circulation the moment it was published.' (p. 192). It was published in 1873 in America, but we are not told by what publishers or in what city, nor why it was withdrawn. Instead we are fobbed off with a quotation from some unknown: "All the plates were destroyed, and it was supposed that all the published copies of the book were likewise disposed of—the official copies which were deposited with the Librarian of the Congress, in compliance with the Laws of Copyright, also disappeared. Fortunately, one copy escaped this fate." Then we are told that it was republished in 1907 after having been compared with the Latin MS which still exists in Germany (it is not said where). In the bibliography the book is listed as published at Chicago by the Indo-American Book Co. (1907). There cannot be the slightest doubt that this supposed contemporary account of the Crucifixion is a modern romance. From this it is asserted that Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea and Jesus too were all Essenes; that the healing ointment *Marham-i-Isa* was applied to the body of Jesus after it had been taken down from the Cross. When the body had recovered enough, the eyes opened and saw an Essene novice who had come to assist him. Then a company of Essenes carried Jesus off to the central house of the Order in Jerusalem; this is what Mary Magdalene saw (S. John xx.2). Resurrection and Ascension have thus been disproved. "The stupendous Christological superstructure, so laboriously built, falls into a heap of rubbish." (p. 222). Later Jesus left the capital for the White Lodge atop the Mount of Olives in disguise (cf. the story of the walk to Emmaus in which he seemed a stranger; though why Luke's story, found in this Gospel alone, should be considered trustworthy we are not told). Finally the Essenes persuaded Jesus to leave Palestine where he had failed, so he departed for the East to seek the lost Ten Tribes (p. 356). Jesus knew that they were there because in his youth he had already toured the Middle East, India and Ceylon.

(vi) The details of the unknown life, between the twelfth year and his emergence as a preacher in Galilee, are to be found in *The*

Life of Saint Issa. This is another romance, found by the Russian Notovitch in a Buddhist monastery at Himis; it was published in his *The Unknown Life of Jesus,* New York, 1890 (see further on these apocryphal accounts the fascinating volume *The Lore of the New Testament* by Joseph Gaer).

It need hardly be said that the canonical versions of the birth, death, rising and ascension of Jesus are discussed by the author and dismissed as full of worthless fabrications.

(vii) Finally, we are told that the description of the Land of Promise fits Kashmir; the people look like Jews, their language has superficial resemblances to Hebrew, many of their customs are similar, and so on. Further, the tombs of Moses, Mary and Jesus are there to this day. Photographs actually show us the tomb of Jesus in Mohalla Khaniyar, Srinagar.

One who is not acquainted with Kashmir nor with its language is at some disadvantage in detailed criticism of this evidence. But the linguistic likenesses seem to be no more than coincidence and many of them are fanciful. The critical mentality of the author may be shown from his story of the stone of Moses. "We were told that if eleven people sat round it and put one finger each beneath this stone and called out *Ka Ka, Ka Ka,* the stone would lift itself from the ground. I was accompanied by four other friends and we collected six local people and tried the experiment in the manner indicated. The stone rose to a height of about four feet from the ground and we did not feel its weight at all" (p. 274). But did the stone raise itself? did the eleven fingers exert enough pressure on a well-balanced stone to lift it? Again, we are told several times (pp. 268, 331f.) that king Solomon visited Kashmir by air and rested on a hill near Srinagar. The proof of this, apart from Kashmiri historians, is found in the Qur'ān which says that God made the winds subservient to Solomon. It is useless to comment on minds that take this to be fact. I refrain also from discussing the idea that Yuz Asaf, an ancient prophet who visited Kashmir, means Jesus the Gatherer or the Seeker of the lepers cured by Jesus (p. 360, 365-376). We are supposed to accept the authority of Mulla Nadiri, first Muslim historian of Kashmir (he wrote in Persian), that two inscriptions on Mount Solomon near Srinagar refer to Yuz Asaf, Jesus the prophet of the Children of Israel. They are now mutilated and cannot be read intelligibly. Pirzada Ghulām Ḥasan disputes with our author the meaning of Yuz Asaf (?Asap), a prince-prophet who was buried in Khaniyar. It is clear that his is the tomb which we are meant to identify with that of Jesus in Srinagar. If it is asserted that there are Jewish tombs in that land (oriented east-west in distinction from Muslim graves facing north-south) one would reply that such orientation is not adequate to prove that the people there buried were Jews rather than Arabs, or indeed the inhabitants who lived there before the Muslim religion conquered the area. (see p. 317).

In fine, this is a tendentious book that fails to establish from ancient sources its primary thesis, that Jesus was removed from the Cross before he was dead and that by the aid of a wonderful ointment his wounds were partially healed while he lay in the tomb. It is not at all scientific and objective in its criticism of Christian documents and it most uncritically relies on recent romances that no self-respecting

scholar could accept. It is inaccurate (e.g. p. 207: S. John xx.18, 25 cite Mary Magdalene and the disciples as saying that they had seen the Lord and the reference must of course be to the *Risen* Lord). It is full of bad exegesis (e.g. p. 233f.: "seeking and saving the lost" has no reference to the so-called Lost Ten Tribes of Israel). It is offensive (e.g. p. 327: "With them (Afghans and Kashmiris), like the British, honesty is the best policy and not a virtue").

There is one last comment to be made. It would be hard to imagine any book in which there is a bibliography so full of printing errors as this (see e.g. p. 390f.) and this deplorable standard is maintained throughout. A rough count shows mistakes of one kind or another on 128 pages and one gets tired trying to keep up with them. This can hardly be called a book that increases the sum of human knowledge or one that promotes understanding between two cultures and religions, although the persistence of the idea that Jesus visited the East and may be claimed for others than those of the Jewish-Christian tradition itself indicates the measure of the attraction that he exercises.

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Religion in an African City. By Geoffrey Parrinder. London, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. 211, Illustrated. 15s.

The religious scene in West Africa cannot be understood without taking all the religious factors into account. And that presents a very complex picture; the pagan religions, Islam, Christianity, secular materialism, and their interactions. Dr. Parrinder has made a beginning to this understanding through his study of the religious life of Ibadan in south-western Nigeria, the largest city in tropical Africa.

Studies in anthropology rarely give any idea of the complexity of the religious scene today. Dr. Parrinder writes, "When one looks for evidence that the problem of religious culture-contact in West Africa has been seriously considered, it is surprising how little sign there is of such study" (p. 2). Even studies on culture contact confine themselves to the results of the contact of Africans with Westernism. That includes Western Christianity, but little account is taken of its influence; while Islam, though it was on the scene long before Westernism, is given little more than a passing glance. From a recent study of the Yoruba one would not realize that any of them were Muslim, let alone gain any conception of the influence of Islam on Yoruba life. This book makes a beginning to fill the vacuum and brings together material which the author by his residence in Ibadan was especially situated and fitted to collect.

Under the heading, "The Twilight of the Gods," he deals with the pagan religion of the Yoruba, now in full decline. After the coming of European rule the Yoruba found themselves on the threshold of a profound spiritual crisis. Their animism, though so highly organized as to compare with the great eastern systems of the past, was doomed to disruption through the influence of the West. Yet, although Ibadan is no longer a pagan city, he shows that the old beliefs linger on among the adherents of both Islam and Christianity

(pp. 61-2, 159-62, 189-92). It is not an exaggeration to say that old religious impulses are still the dominant factor in the lives of the majority of those who call themselves Muslims or Christians.

In an all too brief chapter the author deals with Islam, the first world religion to appear on the scene. Then follow five chapters on Christianity, of which those on "The Separatist Sects," "Personal Religion," and "Religion and Morality" are especially valuable. He brings out the tendency towards stagnation within the 'orthodox' churches. The Separatist sects show more vitality, but there is no evidence that any church or mission has begun to face the question of Islam. Next comes a chapter on the "Secret Societies" which present a problem to both Christianity and Islam, and which Islam has been able to deal with more effectively than Christianity. The final chapter is an assessment of the general religious scene and of present-day currents.

The main part of the book, therefore, deals with the influence of Christianity. Apart from the material brought together its importance lies in the fact that it brings out the weakness of Christianity to influence deeply the social and moral life of the Yoruba, and that is true of Christianity in most parts of West Africa.

In spite of the very real influence of both paganism and Christianity, Ibadan is today more a Muslim than a pagan or Christian city, for Islam in a hundred years has gained more than half its inhabitants. One would have liked to have had more about Islam in Ibadan for Islam among the Yoruba offers unique features, not as regards the cult but the place of religion in the community. The attitude of many of the Westernized in particular to joining a religion is secularist. It is almost like joining a club except that the religions make wider claims. One comes across many families with both Christian and Muslim members. This is unique in the Islam of West Africa. Little strain exists between Christianity and Islam in S.W. Nigeria. None is created within a family through different religious allegiance, and all join happily in each other's festivals. This lack of tension is due to the secularist attitude to life of both the Christian and Muslim *evolués*. This means that Islam has come less as a civilization which is essentially opposed to Western civilization, than as a religion segregated in the Western fashion as one of the departments of life, one among many which have claims upon him. This is because Western civilization and Islam have spread among the Yoruba at one and the same time. Islam does not have the same totalitarian claim, nor the set rigidity it has in Northern Nigeria. Religion is primarily a profession of faith rather than the cement of society. It is ancillary to many other claims of life, politics, money-making, and above all the family, whose unity is not harmed by changes of religious allegiance. Though the position of Islam among the Yoruba who are influenced by the West is unique, yet elsewhere it is a fact that Islam has not only adapted itself to African life better than Western Christianity but it has in many regions been more deeply assimilated and has had a greater influence upon moral and social life.

We have much to learn from a comparative study of religion in a large city such as Dr. Parrinder has given us, and we hope that similar studies will be undertaken in other regions.

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Akbar's Religious Thought Reflected in Mogul Painting. By Emmy Wellesz. (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West) Notes and bibliography. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1953. pp. ix, 47, and 40 pages of plates.

The life and times of Akbar have fascinated alike the historian, the philosopher, the student of the arts and of religion. Philosophical and historical novelists have found here material to prove the old adage that truth is stranger than fiction.

A fresh approach to this period of unparalleled brilliance in Indian History is most welcome. The series in which this work finds itself (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West) has as one of its objects to reveal to the intelligent reader the surroundings of some of the most arresting of the world's religious art and literature. This little book (and little books are sometimes very good books indeed) has as its center a personality who controlled a total complex of eclectic focusing on an insatiable religious curiosity with the power of implementation. The Dīn Ilāhī—the 'Divine Faith'—and its propagation are the stimuli for the variety and brilliance of the expressional arts of the Mogul court under Akbar's patronage. Conversely, the artists, musicians, and architects he patronized exerted their influence. The title of this book, though long, is thus an apt and accurate indication of its content.

There are only forty-seven pages of text, including bibliography and notes. The text itself is divided into two parts. The first part is as condensed and interesting an account of the man Akbar, his complex and contradictory personality, his ideas and his influence, as this reviewer has seen. Material (primary-leaning heavily on Akbar's prejudiced Boswell—Abūl Fazl) has been well selected to point up the validity of judging his religious attitudes by the products of the artists of his court. The elements which constituted the religious Akbar—and religion was (at times?) the dominant motivation of his life—were drawn from all available sources. Sectarian Muslim disputes left him a Sunni, a Shiite, a Sufi. His discovery and translation of Hindu Epics lent subject-matter even to Persian artists 'at home'. The devices he used to extract the Upanisads and other jealously guarded Hindu documents from their rightful possessors made available to the West through the Persian-Latin trek its first knowledge of the wealth of the Hindu Philosophic tradition. The fascinating and revealing contemporary accounts of the Jesuits in Akbar's court are familiar to readers of this Journal. Parsees and Jews complete the cosmopolitan religious atmosphere.

Contemporary attitudes toward the resultant 'Divine Monotheism' are summed up by Miss Wellesz as follows:

> "The Dīn Ilāhī, or else Tauhīd-i-Ilāhī . . . is a synthesis of the various teachings which had made their impression on Akbar's mind. It has been differently judged by different modern writers. Mr. Vincent Smith who wrote the standard biography on Akbar, speaks of his "sham religion" as a "monument of his folly" and calls the whole scheme "the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy." Other authors find warm words of high commendation. The reason for such contrasting judgments lies not only in a divergence of outlook in the writers themselves; it has also to be seen in the rather confused state-

ments on which historians have to rely. The Jesuit Fathers, deeply devoted to their faith, and disappointed as they were in their hope of converting the Emperor, being, moreover, strangers only partly acquainted with the idioms of the country, were naturally biassed in their presentations of the facts. Badaoni, on his side, speaks not only as the orthodox Sunni, but also as the declared enemy and unsuccessful rival of Abūl Fazl, in whom he sees the man "who has set the world in flames." In his anger he often contradicts himself, telling us, for instance, that Akbar was loath to accept Muslims as members of the Dīn Ilāhī, the membership involving privileges which he preferred to confer on Hindus; yet in a later passage he speaks without further comment about the conversion of a number of notorious Muslims. As a matter of fact, the eighteen prominent members of the Dīn Ilāhī, whose names are reported, were all, with one single exception, Muslim."

The likeness of the Dīn Ilāhī to modern Vedanta and consequently to the great bulk of modern Hinduism is pointed out by the author, who quotes Mahatma Gandhi in the same spirit of the Unity of all religions. The difference, however, is great. Akbar, with an inherited interpretation of the function of the Emperor as the spiritual as well as the temporal head, has centered in himself prophethood and divinity in the vedantic sense. Allāhu Akbar—God is very great—Akbar is God.

The second half of the book is its unique contribution, and makes use of well-chosen excellent black and white reproductions (forty pages of them) of Mogul paintings, illustrative of the author's text. These paintings reflect the Emperor's encouragement of the use of subject-matter from the backgrounds of the discussions and expositions in the House of Worship. Your reviewer has been much interested in the effect of Akbar's patronage of music in the various traditions—this book deals entirely with painting. The material at hand has been 'naturalized' in the Mogul style or styles and becomes a valid subject not only for the student of Art, but the student of History and Religion as well.

Of particular interest to readers of *The Muslim World* will be the Christian (more properly European) subject matter of many of the paintings. This use of Western material was inspired by the interest the Jesuits discovered on Akbar's part in the paintings they brought with them as a necessary part of their apparatus of worship. These suggest European influences in the treatment of non-Christian subjects. One of the figures seems to have been inspired by a "Christ in the garden of Gethsemane." "Sita purging herself by fire" might also be mistaken for a Christian martyr. Numerous Madonnas appeared. St. Matthew writing his Gospel (in Latin) at the dictation of a Mogul angel has long been a favorite of this reviewer. One cannot have everything, but so essential to the beauty and design of the Mogul miniatures is color, that one cannot help but wish the plates, well done as they are, were a color portfolio of reproductions such as museums have released, though all too seldom.

If a concrete suggestion may be made in a review of this kind, it would be that some of the Mogul paintings of Christian theme be reproduced in color to make available to Christians (and anyone interested) these beautiful things so intimately linked with the History of Indian and Muslim culture. The movement for the produc-

tion of indigenous Christian painting in Pakistan and India, as well as other Muslim countries, could be enormously stimulated by such an interest and appreciation on the part of those concerned with the naturalization of Christianity in the areas of the 'younger' churches.

MALCOLM S. PITT

Hartford, Conn.

Mamluk Costume—A Survey. By L. A. Mayer. Albert Kundig, Geneva, 1952, pp. 120, 20 pls.

In view of the rising interest in Islamic art one would assume that as revealing an index of change in tastes and fashions as the history of costume would have been thoroughly investigated. Strange as it seems, since 1837-42, when Quatremère published his translation of *Sulūk* by Maqrīzī, with special notes on clothes and arms and armor, and 1845, when Dozy published his fundamental *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes,* nothing has been published to this day (with the exception of an article by R. Levy in 1935). L. A. Mayer's book on the costumes worn during the last great historical period of Egypt, therefore, fills a definite gap in our knowledge. The author is well qualified to undertake this research, since he has published numerous studies in the field of Arab history, epigraphy, and numismatics, and in particular, his fundamental *Sarcenic Heraldry,* which have proven him to be a first-class historian of the political and artistic past.

The main sources for the present study are the historians of the Mamluk period, whose often all-too-meagre references are skillfully co-ordinated to give us a good picture of the various garments ranging from the simplest costume to those of unheard-of luxury decried by many a qāḍī. Wherever possible, the references are corroborated by illustrations from contemporary material—paintings in Arabic manuscripts, inlaid designs on metalwork, illustrations to European accounts of travelers and pilgrims, and finally, Italian paintings, which proved to be a particularly reliable source of information. In a few instances the book even makes use of preserved garments, none of which were, however, of outstanding interest, since the Mamluk Sultans and amirs, unlike the Ottomans, never kept the garments of their ancestors, even their gala outfits, in the state treasury, or as family keepsakes. Only in the case of the "wardrobe of metal," that is, the arms and armor, are we somewhat better informed, since a good many pieces were brought to Istanbul after the Ottoman conquest of Mamluk Egypt and Syria in 1517, from whence some pieces have even entered European and American collections.

The book is organized in various chapters which deal with the wardrobe of the Abbasid Caliphs at the Mamluk Court, then with those of the Sultan, followed by that of the military aristocracy, and a special chapter on arms and armor, which recapitulates the author's earlier investigation published in *Ars Islamica* (Vol. X, 1943). The rest of the book is made up of chapters on the garments of the ecclesiastics, the "robes of honor" *(khil'ah),* the distinctive garments worn by Christians, Jews, and Samaritans, the fashions of women, and finally, an investigation of the technical term *qumāsh,* which is found to be a cloak to be put over one's lighter clothing worn for official functions. The thoroughness with which the book is compiled

is not only shown by the detailed documentation for every reported fact, but by extensive and perfectly compiled bibliographies and a full index. One can hardly think of a better way in which the material could have been presented. The only possible suggestion would be that the user of the book would have been further helped had the various parts of the costume been illustrated by drawings to give us even a clearer idea about the diverse types of clothing. Since Professor Mayer has had to leave out of this study all Ayyūbid and Zangid material and also all discussion of textiles, jewelry, and on damascening of blades, but fortunately promises us their later publication, it is hoped that he can supply this additional visual picture gained from his historical research.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Independent Iraq: a Study in Iraqi Politics since 1932. By Majid Khadduri. London, 1951. Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press. 8vo. ix, 292 pp. with end Map.

This book is precisely what its title indicates. It tells the story of the ups and downs in Iraqi politics from the time the Mandate ended and Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations in 1932, to the coming to power of Muzahim al-Pachachi's government in 1948. All through the story the tragedy of Faisal's premature death stands out starkly. The author speaks in terms of high praise of the wisdom and ability of Faisal and there can be little doubt that had he lived the history of these years here recorded would have been very different from the sad story that is before us. There is ample material in these pages to support the arguments of those who urge the inefficiency and futility of democratic government, but at the same time it gives valuable insight into the struggles of an Eastern people to adjust itself politically to a new way of national life, struggles which have been the more poignantly felt by all classes of society because the guiding hand of Faisal was so early removed.

To many readers the most important chapter in the book will be the second, which sets forth in some detail the "Machinery of Government" in the new Iraq, discussing the composition of Parliament, the Cabinet, the administrative system, the judiciary and the relationship of Parliament to the Crown. This gives an admirably clear picture of how the system has been set up and how it was intended to function, and reference back to it makes clear many things in the succeeding story of the rise and fall of Ministry after Ministry which would be largely unintelligible without it.

One is conscious throughout the story of tensions between Sunnī and Shī'a, and even greater tensions between the settled population and the tribesmen under their tribal Shaikhs. How these tensions are to be resolved is a nice political problem. There is tantalizingly little about some other tensions, such as the Kurdish problem and that of other minority groups. Indeed the shocking massacre of the Assyrians is deliberately by-passed with a reference in a foot note to say that that matter is discussed in detail in Stafford's book. In one respect this account of political changes in Iraq is unique, in that the author not only quotes documents, but had personal interviews with certain of the leaders most concerned and gives their hitherto

unpublished versions of what occurred and their opinions as to why certain things occurred in the way they did.

It will probably be many years before we can see these developments in Iraq in their true perspective, but meanwhile this book provides us with a readable and an informative account of the inner workings of Iraqi politics for the better part of the last twenty years.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University, New York

"World without End, the Middle East." By Emil Lengyel, John Day Company, 1953, pp. 364, Bibliography and index.

Emil Lengyel is a Hungarian, who was taken prisoner and sent to Siberia during the First World War. When peace was declared he was granted the degree of Doctor of Laws by the Royal Hungarian University and in 1922 emigrated to America, where he became a well known author and lecturer.

His latest book, "World without End," undertakes to give a comprehensive account of the recent history and contemporary situations in the Middle East. As the book is written in a popular style and contains a great deal of material, the panorama which it presents is impressionistic.

Although the volume was finished before some of the recent events in the Middle East took place, it is more up to date than other books which are available. There is no attempt to transliterate the foreign names correctly and there are some minor errors, but on the whole the statistics and statements of facts are accurate.

The opening chapters present the problems in a logical way, starting with the primitive Bedouin and peasants and then dealing with the towns and modern nationalism. The author did not have enough space to describe the deeper and better side of peasant life, or the constructive aspect of nationalism and the progress which it is stimulating in the cities.

Only a minimum of space is devoted to city planning, new forms of industry, modern labor laws, improved education, and social reform.

The long chapter, "History Unlimited," is not intended for scholars, but rather for readers who enjoy good journalism and wish to gain a bird's eye view of the Middle East. The chapters about Turkey, Iran, Israel, and petroleum are interesting resumés, but are too short to contain an explanation of the deep emotions, which are moving the multitudes in Iran and the Arab states, and which are primarily responsible for present day situations.

The accounts of the Straits and Suez give valuable material and are especially enlightening. The longer chapter about races, minorities, and religions deals with so many complicated subjects that a thoughtful reader will wish to supplement it by doing extra reading.

As a whole the book will be enjoyed by readers, who do not have time to read more technical volumes, but who wish to gain a general knowledge of the Middle East in a form that is both brief and easy to read, albeit superficial.

BAYARD DODGE

Princeton

"Rural Reconstruction in Action." By Harold B. Allen, Cornell University Press, 1953, pp. 198. $3.50.

One of the most important problems of the Muslim World is rural improvement. From the Shah of Persia and the Dictator of Egypt down to the humblest peasant, there is a desire to redistribute the land and to raise the living standards of the farmers.

Dr. Harold B. Allen, Director of Education of the Near East Foundation, has rendered a most timely and useful service by writing a short, interesting book about rural reconstruction. He draws upon examples connected with the work of the Near East Foundation and several government departments, in order to make his ideas clear.

The two short chapters at the end of the book are so full of common sense that anyone who expects to work overseas should study them carefully. Missionaries, extension workers, educators and most important of all Point IV agents should profit by Dr. Allen's wisdom. Many mistakes, which have been made and are still being made, might be overcome, if Dr. Allen's advice should be taken seriously.

BAYARD DODGE

Princeton

The Archaeology of World Religions. By Jack Finegan, Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 599, 260 illustrations, 9 maps, Index. $10.00.

The term 'archaeology' is very widely interpreted in this admirable volume and the proportions of the author's painstaking achievement are equally generous. He presents ten living world religions with particular reference to their surviving monuments, art forms, architecture, documents and relics. The text refers in detail to the numerous grey tone illustrations which reproduce the objects and museum pieces belonging to the faiths concerned. Having undertaken to include so wide a field, the writer is obliged to be somewhat compendious in dealing with the individual religions. None the less his summary of available information and his discussion of the data are lucid and efficient. If he does not break much new ground or make any drastic revisions of prevailing opinions, he has at least concentrated into pleasant accessibility a mass of diverse information, and for this many readers and students will be grateful.

Chapter IX deals with Islam in general, while Indian Islam stands as an opening section to the final Chapter on Sikhism, the two covering 72 pages in all with some 46 illustrations, 9 of which are from Creswell's *Early Muslim Architecture*. After noting certain Greek and Roman references to Arabia, including *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, with its reproach for the peninsula's "rascally men speaking two languages," the author takes brief notice of the southern Arabia Kingdoms in the days before Islam. He then turns to the Qur'ān and the life of the Prophet. (Incidentally he alternates here between the spelling 'Koran' and 'Qur'ān' in his own sentences, as distinct from the spelling of those he quotes. This is a small point which a later edition might rectify.) While current scholarship is showing more interest in the civic and commercial context of Islam's genesis in Mecca, Professor Finegan emphasises that a return to nomadism was "the chief feature of Arabian life" in the days just prior

to the Prophet. It should be noted (p. 501) that not all the ninety-nine names of God are Quranic: some twenty or more are non-Quranic. While summarising effectively the main features of Islam, the writer notes that "The two cities which were the chief foci of the life and work of Muhammad have remained virtually inaccessible to the outside world" (p. 505). Archaeology, therefore, in the strict sense of intensive, local study and inspection, involving digging and delving, has hardly begun in respect of original Islam. Nor is the day near when it will.

So the reader passes to the Umayyads and the Abbasides (where a brief account of the Sunnī-Shī'ah division is interpolated, together with a paragraph on Sufism and one on al-Ghazālī). The monuments shortly discussed here are the Dome of the Rock, the Great Mosque at Damascus and the ruined palace and mosque of Samarra. Subsequent notices of the Great Mosque at Qayrawān, al-Azhar and Cordova are tantalisingly scanty. We might have expected some treatment in this section of extant works of Muslim exegesis, science, history and philosophy. We are compensated to some degree, however, by the reproduction of two illustrations from illustrated manuscripts of the seventh Muslim century, one showing Muḥammad preaching his farewell sermon and the other the Prophet replacing the Black Stone. (Figs. 245 and 246). There are other examples, too, of Persian painting.

One notes here and there the kind of remark, often at the end of paragraphs, which suggests that the author was acutely conscious of his publisher's space. ("This chapter must be closed . . ." ; "We have given an example earlier . . ." ; "It will suffice to mention . . ." and the like.) This must have been hard for him and it is impoverishing for the reader. If there is one complaint, then, with this erudite and ambitious work, it must be that it is at once too full and too thin. For that the author must bear responsibility. At least he gives the impression that he is wrestling with a task of condensation as much as with a task of exposition. It may be that he set out to journey too far and, therefore, had to travel too fast. Three score and ten pages, after all, are very little in which to describe the many traces, architectural, literary and artistic, which Islam has left upon the face of history. None the less such "actual and tangible memorials of the (Muslim) past" as we find discussed and illustrated here combine into a broad outline of the shape of Islam, as well as being a construction of careful scholarship and patient writing. If there are to be other fuller, more exclusive, studies of Islamic 'archaeology' in this author's sense of the term, they will be the better for the example of this fine volume.

A. K. C.

Missions under the Cross. Edited by Norman Goodall. Published for the International Missionary Council by the Friendship Press, New York, 1953, pp. 264. $2.75.

The I. M. C. has had four impressive conferences since it was established in 1921. This book is the official report of the most recent one held at Willingen, Germany, from July 5th to 17th, 1952. An earlier publication, "The Missionary Obligation of the Church," has already provided us with the principal statements and findings of the

meetings. This book contains these as well as the addresses delivered at the meetings. There are ten addresses with a thoughtful introduction by the editor. Dr. Goodall states the purpose of the conference when he writes, "Willingen was envisaged, from the outset, not as the end of the process but as a time of stock-taking—a special opportunity for corporate reflection and discussion on this two-fold task of theological enquiry and policy re-formulation." The papers impart to those of us who did not attend, something of the dynamic thrust that must have been felt by those present at the meeting in Germany. When Canon Warren points out that "perhaps the crisis of missions is really the judgment of the Cross on our fundamental attitudes of mind," we face the reality of a revolutionary time in which we have not been the best of stewards. Reinold von Thadden in plain unmistakable phrases spells out the meaning of the "Church under the Cross," and asks, "Is the Church under the Cross not the Church in retreat?" His challenging paper answers this question. Each of these essays has its value for us as a missionary message for our time. Space does not allow mention of all of them. Of particular importance to this reviewer, however, since it comes from an Indian and a leader of one of the "Younger Churches," is what J. Russell Chandran has to say. Writing in "Mission in Crisis" out of a situation where crisis is part of the daily life of his people in their new awakening, he points out that "Communism cannot be spoken of as merely a demonic force in the world." It legitimately claims for all people a full participation in the economic and political life and is thus a potent factor in the stirring humanity of our time. He rightly recognizes that Islam and other non-Christian religions of the world are not the same as when they confronted the pioneer missionaries of a century ago. Dr. John Mackay has called our attention, in his paper on "The Great Commission and the Church Today," to the fact that "missionary work since 1910 has been carried on in the most revolutionary period in human history, one which is still under way, with its end not yet in sight." The last and longest of the addresses, that by E. J. Bingle, is a survey of the "World Mission of the Church." As he succinctly reviews the areas he makes brief allusions to Islam. His four pages on the Near East are the most important references to Islam in its local habitat. He points out the sobering fact that in the strong citadels of Islam the Church hardly exists.

The last third of the book contains the "Statements and Reports" of the Willingen Conference. These are being carefully studied by each of the constituent member councils of the I. M. C. They are worthy of careful consideration by all of us. The whole book should be thoughtfully read by anyone who wishes to keep abreast of the finest thinking on the Commission of our Lord for our time.

This reviewer was fortunate to be acquainted by name with most of those who read papers at the conference, but it would have been well if all the contributors had been more explicitly identified.

Claude L. Pickens, Jr.

New York

Al-Tabshir w-al Ist'imār fī-l-Bilādi-l-'Arabiyya. English Title: **Missionaries and Imperialism.** By Dr. Muṣṭafā Khālidy and Dr. 'Umar Farrūkh, Beirut, 1953, pp. 229.

It is not strange that sincere Muslims should raise objections to the activity of Christian missions in the Muslim world, believing as they do that so many central items of Christian belief are contrary to Islamic teaching. Nor is it surprising that Christian missionary activity should sometimes have failed to serve its strenuous and exacting task with proper adequacy either of mind or spirit. What is surprising, however, is the *ground* on which this book rests its bitter antagonism to the Christian mission. Our two Arabic authors scarcely mention doctrinal or religious grounds of resistance to the work they condemn. Indeed they assert more than once that there are hardly any missionaries at all who are sincerely concerned with religious purposes. Rather, it would seem, the writers are persuaded that all missionaries and their supporters at home are hypocrites who do not believe in what they preach, except it be as a cover for their design to destroy Islam and subjugate Muslim nations to Western powers.

This thesis is vehemently asserted, with such vehemence indeed that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the writers are pursuing some personal *animus* or grudge in what they decry. So much at least is indicated in their discussion of the American University of Beirut, with which both were connected for many years. (In one case at least the position taken in the book is something of a *volte-face* from earlier, happier relations.)

However, it is the case the book presents, rather than the motives, which must concern a reviewer. Missionaries are invariably the tool of political imperialists. "The fact is that propagating religion is a very secondary matter in all missionary activity." (p. 28.) "They are all characterized by strong enmity towards Arabs and Muslims and by open hatred of other Christian groups differing from their own." (p. 30.) One purpose of this asserted identity between missions and imperialism would seem to be the desire to unite Arab Christians and Muslim Arabs in a common hostility to the West. The former must be persuaded that missions are purely foreign in their intent and character. The dedication of the book "to every Muslim youth and to every Christian youth, to every young man or woman in the Orient, in order that we may show them the methods of the missionaries in our dear country and that behind their missionary proclamation they only aim at serving the Western imperialists," corroborates this surmise. Another significant passage on p. 115 adds: "We are not going to deal with the reasons that make Muslims reject the message of Christian missions, for that would raise a great problem among fellow countrymen in the Orient who are now living in brotherly friendship. One thing only we want through the book: we want to show that the foreign religious people are responsible for the political and moral disasters of the Orient and for the dissensions between the adherents of the different religions and communities."

This central accusation is traced through all the various activities of both Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions in the Levant, with particular emphasis on education. Space does not permit of fuller quotation from the authors' charges. They make full use of Christian sources and quote extensively from what they claim are unequivocal

passages bearing out their contentions. The trouble is that they ignore all the wide evidence which militates against their thesis—prolonged evidence of objective and positive Christian scholarship in Muslim fields, of a studied effort to avoid 'proselytism,' of devoted and disinterested labor for the communal good recognized and honored by high Lebanese decorations, and the like. While the extent of the documentary quotations may seem to be impressive, it is their one-sidedness which is the final, as it was the initial, characteristic. Nor are all the citations as forceful as they seem. For example pp. 15-17 produce a long passage from *The Moslem World* of January, 1930, pp. 71-72, which quotes a writer in *Foreign Affairs,* to the effect that some missionary interpreters of the Ottoman tyranny against Armenian Christians failed to make it clear also that Muslim peasants suffered acutely under the same corrupt régime. There need be no question that zeal for 'Christian' relief may have erred through excess at this point. What the authors do not note is that the very journal to which they owe the passage they quote is a Christian, missionary journal, publishing this criticism in the interests of integrity. This point might lead on to the observation that this book in no sense recognizes or reckons with the volume of missionary self-criticism or the prolonged study made since Edinburgh 1910 of the nature of the Christian task in the world. Nor have the authors any self-criticism in respect of Islam. All is black and all is white. This is perhaps the greatest tragedy of the work—its failure even to begin to comprehend the Christian Church in its concept of world-obligation, wrestling through all its human imperfection with the vocation of a Divine commission. It may well be that our Christian discharge of the task of Christ's men and women in the world has much that calls for repentance, that it has been beset with failures of mind and failures of spirit. But it can hardly be accounted universally guilty of the travesty of itself which this book asserts it to have been: though in the last analysis it is not in terms of a travesty that the authors condemn it, for they have never recognized the original calling of mission. Perhaps here is the crux of the whole story. We may well say to them: "If these things be so, something is tragically wrong. But the tragically wrong implies something basically right, which ought to have been. What then is this other thing? Are you ready to face that and think with us of its inner impulse as grounded in the love of God? We for our part believe the Christian world mission to be the handmaid of no Kingdom save the Kingdom of God and we seek ourselves to be only its servants. If that mission has ever been made a means to other ends we repudiate it as a usurpation and repent it as a tragic failure. But will you allow that the mission, as itself an end, demands to be pursued and claims the pure allegiance of lovers of the souls of men in Christ?"

Whether or not the charges in this work are substantiated the objective reader can decide. In any event, we see all the more clearly what the mission ought not to be. We must, therefore, be dedicated all the more sensitively and patiently to what it is.

ALFRED NIELSEN

Ain Anoub, Lebanon

Imperial Communism. By Anthony T. Bouscaren. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1953, pp. 256. $3.75.

Most books on Communism have the virtue of being timely even before they are written. That apart, this one is rather undistinguished. It purports to give a global summary, land by land, of the activities of Communists and their organization. The treatment is scanty and uneven and in places inaccurate. Though there is a one-page bibliography the author does not show great evidence of independent research. He repeats the familiar statements about the partnership between Communism and disaffected elements, whether political or economic. In the sections bearing on Muslim countries he has nothing very new to add. "Communists have put their best foot forward to guide mass emotions along lines useful to Moscow." (p. 118.) He describes the Muslim Brotherhood as "a terrorist organization." General Naguib would be irritated to find himself here described as "General Naguib Bey." On page 118 the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch speaks for "250,000 Orthodox Christians in Syria, Iraq and Lebanon," while on page 121 he "represents nearly 500,000 communicants mostly in Syria and Lebanon." A second edition must sort that out, if one is needed.

Though the book may have some value, it is sad that a study of world Communism should be as superficial in spirit and research as this is.

A. K. C.

The Middle East, 1953. Published by Europa Publications Limited, London, 1953, pp. 430. $11.50.

This third edition is fuller and richer than its useful predecessor which appeared more than two years ago. It is "a survey and directory of Arabia, Cyprus, Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, the Lebanon, Libya, Persia, the Sudan, Syria and Turkey." There is a brief outline of the physical and social geography of the whole region by Dr. W. B. Fisher. Each country is discussed in its historical, social, cultural and economic aspects and there is a Who's Who of the Middle East that includes both prominent nationals and also certain Westerners well known in the area. There are certain omissions here and one could have wished for fuller data on the new Egyptian ministers, some of whom would seem to have had no biographies until they came to power.

The editors, who are un-named, have performed a conspicuous service in the production of this volume. It lists comprehensive statistical information in a wide variety of fields. Here one may see at a glance the newspapers and periodicals of Syria, the exports and imports of Cyprus, the Faculties of the Egyptian Universities or the Banks of the new Kingdom of Libya. There are useful bibliographies, both general and particular, and small, one-page maps of each state. The whole volume is well-printed, well-ordered and singularly free from errors—even if an occasional name is differently spelled in different contexts. There is one small point. In the Who's Who, authors' works are for the most part listed with English titles and it is not always clear whether English or Arabic is the language of composition.

A. K. C.

Egypt. The emphasis on inter-communal solidarity within the national movement in Egypt since the coming to power of General Naguib was firmly laid again at his inauguration on June 25th as President. On that occasion the Shaikh al-Azhar, the Coptic Patriarch and the Chief Rabbi participated and appeared together, with the new President on the balcony of the Palace. As we have earlier commented this new national unity is full of great possibilities for inter-faith communication, if it be practised and pursued in other realms beyond the political.

Turkey. National Conventions of the Republicans and the Nation Party—both opposition parties in Turkey—held during July in Ankara seem to suggest that the issue of Islam in Turkish political life is likely to be active in the elections due in 1954. The Republican party, heir to the Ataturk régime and defeated in 1950, has modified its strict interpretation of the "laic" State to permit of Government payment of religious teachers and support of Muslim mosques and other institutions. Though the appeal may be to the conservative rural vote, it would also seem that there is general feeling that further softening of the old "secularism" is now right and desirable, in line with the Democratic Party's abolition of the prohibition on Arabic in religious services and its relaxation of controls on religious teaching since it came to power.

The Nation Party, however, goes much further. Some of its members are reportedly anxious to re-introduce the Sharī'ah and to revive the Caliphate, as well as the outlawed religious orders. Though these policies are disowned by some members of the Party, the Government has taken firm action against it, inspecting its files and arresting some of its extreme conservative members, despite protests from others, and from the Republican opposition, made in the name of political freedom. The ultimate issue is the degree to which a renewed Islam shall be allowed to modify the Ataturk conception and legacy, "twenty years after."

Elections and Constitutions. The Sudan Elections Committee announced last quarter that the elections had been postponed until October 15th, 1953, in view of the difficulty of completing electoral registers and arrangements in the time originally allowed. It is understood that no political party protested the delay.

Meanwhile in Syria General Shishekly was elected President of the Republic in a referendum approving the new Constitution. There was no opposition candidate but the dissolved political parties sought to boycott the polls, or speak through absenteeism. A few days after his election the new President announced the formation of a Cabinet which will prepare for elections to a one-Chamber Parliament in October or November, at which women will vote for the first time. Syria thus begins the movement back to constitutional procedures which have been in abeyance since the dissolution of the old Parliament in 1951 and of the old political parties. Meanwhile the

military rule has been pressing forward with necessary economic reforms which the earlier régimes had either resisted or delayed.

In the Lebanese elections which took place on various dates in July last women enjoyed the franchise for the first time in Lebanon's history.

Talks have been proceeding in London, after the withdrawal of an earlier decision to boycott them, for the discussion of a new ultimate Constitutional arrangement for Nigeria. Six delegates represented the three provinces of Nigeria,—north, east and west. The aim is to transfer powers now concentrated under British central authority to provincial legislatures, a step which is questioned by the politically more powerful east and west whose leaders want more central control over the Muslim north and speedier termination of colonial status. The course of constitutional development in this vast territory with its twenty-five million inhabitants and varied races, creeds and tongues, is bound to be beset with problems. Prominent Nigerian nationalists have set 1956 as the limit of their patience.

Land and Hunger. It is reported from Cairo that a plan is on foot for irrigation in the Sinai peninsula by means of water from the Nile. The hope is to find homes for some seventy thousand Arab refugees by a project costing some twenty-two million dollars. Egyptian Minister Fuād Galāl announced the plan.

Meanwhile Pakistan has set under way a long-range scheme to relieve agrarian poverty due to population growth, which has increased the number of inhabitants by over 50% since 1900. Pakistan's crop-yieldage per acre is among the worst in the world. Vast sums are being spent to bring 400,000 new acres under cultivation and to increase the yield on existing farms. Five major irrigation schemes are involved, together with a great increase in the use of chemical fertilisers. The latter are distributed to the farmers at one third of their cost to the Government.

The pioneer scheme of the Arab Development Project, led by Mūsā 'Alamy, in the Jordan valley near Jericho, goes from strength to strength, belying the pessimism of the Clapp Mission and other experts who regarded the scheme as chimerical and the land it is turning into a garden a waste-land. Though the number of resettled families is not yet large, since the project was meant as a demonstration of possibilities and has battled with tremendous odds, its promise for the future is immense. It has demonstrated the presence of abundant underground water and is overcoming the saltiness of the soil. Most important of all, it is proving that the spirit of strenuous struggle to make land flourish is not confined to Israel.

The Pilgrimage. The pilgrims now returning from Mecca were the first to enjoy fluorescent lighting in the Great Mosque. It has been installed by the General Electric Company of Britain, whose designer had to plan the scheme entirely on the basis of maps and photographs, since, as a non-Muslim, he had no access to the city or the precincts. The courtyard which stands around the Ka'bah is illuminated by powerful flood lighting, while blue-tinted spotlights play on the seven minarets.

It appears that Muslim opinion in Pakistan has been disturbed by

the effect of financial restrictions on travel upon the flow of pilgrims to Mecca from West Pakistan. *Al-Islam,* the newly-founded, bi-weekly journal of the Holy Qur'ān Society of Karachi, publishes a letter in its first number (Rajab 16, 1372) claiming that thousands of Pakistanis are denied the privilege of the pilgrimage every year. The Government in 1952 arranged for only 20,000. In 1953 the number is to be 12,500 only, which means less than one pilgrim for every ten thousand of the population. The writer claims that if the permissible currency exchange per pilgrim was reduced it would still be adequate and a larger number could make the journey. In the third number of *Al-Islam* it is stated that the quota fixed for West Pakistan was filled up on the first day of application. The writer calls strongly for a more realistic policy on the matter, worthy of the largest of Muslim states.

A writer, Sayyid Qutb, in a recent issue of *Le Jeune Musulman,* organ of the youth of the Association of 'Ulamā' in Algeria, has an interesting suggestion about the pilgrimage. He believes that its real purpose is lost in that the majority of those who make it are simple and ignorant people. Its true spirit would be recovered if it could be made the occasion, perhaps in Cairo, for its convenience, of a genuine congress of Muslim leaders, men of knowledge and competence, who could make careful and disciplined study of the issues belonging to Islam today. This, says the contributor, would revive a truly Islamic practice and would give pilgrimages a concrete value, in a direction greatly needed in contemporary faith.

Mosques and their Preachers. The new Karachi journal, *Al-Islam* earlier quoted, discusses the place of the mosque in national regeneration in its issue of Sha'bān 16. After stressing that true renaissance can only come under mosque auspices, it goes on: "When we have decided to look to the mosque for our true education and training we will realize the need of the purification of the mosque itself. We will find that it was to be put in the charge of capable men and not in the hands of human parasites who live on other people's money. We will come to appreciate the value of *Khatibs* who should be able to guide their brethren in the affairs of this world and not merely recite printed *khutbas* (sermons). We assure our brethren in Islam that one of the greatest—if not the greatest—causes of the mental and social degradation of the Muslims of today is the present condition of our mosques and *khatibs.* If we would make our mosques the prototypes of the Mosque of Madinah and if we could place on the pulpits of our mosques men worthy of the place we can change our condition in no time as did the early followers of Islam." (p. 19).

However, it must not be thought that the journal is, therefore, sympathetic to attacks on mullahs and religious personages, as if they were responsible for the situation. It is particularly opposed to those whom it calls the "intelligentsia." and opposes their plea that the Book of Islam gives to every Muslim the right to understand Islam. "It is the height of self-deception for every literate person to think that he can understand Islam and the Book of Islam better than the 'Ulamā' who have devoted their lives to the study of Islam and its literature. . . . To claim that Islam could be better understood by those Pakistanis who know no Arabic than by those who know no

English is something that can be conceived by a member of the intelligentsia alone." (p. 35).

While it has often been recognised in the West that it is the 'ulamā' who know Islam who must lead its revival, it is at the same time hard to see how they are to do so as long as little or no effort is made to bridge the gap between their mentality and that of the here-despised "intelligentsia." If Islam is only safe in the hands of its authoritative—may we say, professional,—custodians and if these are not in a position to get to grips with modern affairs, where does a solution lie? The problem of this educational dichotomy in contemporary Islam has been noted and discussed by Egyptian essayists at length.

The contrary diagnosis to that of *Al-Islam* is suggested by a new publishing house in Lahore which plans a series of publications setting forth a modern and spiritual Islam, positively related to Christianity and intelligently resistant to Communism, and in general abreast of the contemporary world. "It is not at all the teachings of the Qur'ān . . . that have made us second-class humans and the lands of our origin most backward of the civilized areas of the world. It is the rote-ridden, ritual-bound mullah whose is a far cry from the teachings of the Qur'ān. . . . The time now needs modernising Islam without interfering with its spiritual values."

Majallat al-Azhar for the month of Sha'bān last has an interesting note bearing on mosque preaching. It recalls (p. 1030) how originally preachers in mosques were also leaders in war. It was appropriate then that Anwar al-Sādāt, a Member of the Council of Leadership should have been the Friday preacher in one of the Ḥanafī mosques in Cairo. The listeners were surprised to find themselves listening to a Friday sermon of a totally new order, coming from the heart and reaching into the heart. It affirmed that liberation was not merely getting rid of the oppressor and terminating tyranny: it was the liberation of the souls of men from selfishness and all the remaining influences of the old régime. Every patriot must gain the victory over himself by the power of his faith and the power of Satan must be cast out of every Muslim soul until every man becomes a disciple of truth and a man of good.

Orthodox and Ahmadī. The spring riots in Lahore and other parts of the Punjab were not as costly to life as had been earlier reported by *Time* and other Western sources. The number of rioters killed seems to have been just under one hundred, with some 330 injured. The genesis of the riots was both religious and political. Orthodox Muslims challenge the Aḥmadī interpretation of the phrase *Khatm-i-Nabuwwat* as applied to the Qur'ān. For the latter the phrase affirming Muḥammad to be "the seal of the Prophets" must be understood in some sense allowing for further revelation from God, important enough to establish a new Caliphal succession from Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad, the founder of Aḥmadiyya. The strict orthodox hold that the Aḥmadī heresy on this point requires that they be denominated a minority religion not Muslim. The issue has been agitating the country for a long time. The orthodox point of view was presented by Sayyid Abū-l-'Alā Mawdūdī in a pamphlet, *Some Constitutional Proposals for the Consideration of the Constituent Assembly of Pak-*

istan, which was published by his organisation Jamā'at-i-Islām. In it he said: "We demand with all the force at our command that the Qadianis, along with other non-Muslim minorities, be included in the schedule of minorities having the right of separate electorate and seats in proportion to their population." He further claimed that the Aḥmadis had themselves abandoned other Muslims and created a separate *Ummat.* They had done so in four ways: (1) By declaring all Muslims *kafirs* who do not call Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad a Prophet of God; (2) By forbidding intermarriage between Qadiani girls and Muslim youths; (3) By disallowing prayers led by an Orthodox Imām; (4) By prohibiting Qadianis from attending Muslim funerals. Mawdūdī's conclusion was that "This new prophethood has raised a wall between Qadianis and Muslims, so much so that neither religious belief, nor its practice, nor social ties have been left unaffected, which alone could unite them." He affirmed his resistance to any Constitution not recognising these facts.

Jamā'at-ī-Islām, however, was not the only or even the major group involved in the rioting which broke out on the question. Several conservative leaders launched a *Tahaffuz-e-Khatm-i-Nabuwwat* Movement against the Aḥmadis and the *Aḥrār* were also involved. The most prominent political leader concerned was a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Maulvi 'Abdul Sattar Niazi, who convened a group within the Muslim League, aiming, *inter alia,* at preventing the use of the terminology of Islam for the promotion of "un-Islamic opinions, interests and projects of persons, groups or classes." This would appear to be a thrust at liberals as well as at the Aḥmadis. The group would limit voting rights to male nationals "who come up to the requisite standards of piety according to the record at a masjid (mosque) and who qualify educationally according to the record at a madrasa." It also wishes to make Arabic the national language. During the height of the riots Niazi established himself, with his supporters, in the Wazīr Khān Mosque. From one of the minarets he proclaimed the overthrow of the Punjab Government and announced the members of his new cabinet. Later on he fled the mosque and the cabinet and headed for the Indian border, close to which he was arrested.

The sentence of death which was passed upon him was also passed upon Mawdūdī, in whose case it seemed the more surprising. Mawdūdī has long been a prominent religious figure whose works, such as *Towards Understanding Islam,* have earned him considerable repute as a champion of orthodox Islam. Major General Azam commuted the death sentences in both cases to rigorous imprisonment for 14 years. The sentence and its commutal, at least in Mawdūdī's case, may be taken as a measure of the determination of the authorities to crush militant conservatism when it takes to the streets. It is, of course, well known that Sir Zafrullāh Khān, Foreign Minister of Pakistan in successive cabinets, is a member of the Aḥmadī community. The riots precipitated the fall of the government of Mian Mumtaz Daultana in the Punjab, his successor being Malik Firoz Khan Noon. It also contributed to the replacement of Kwaja Nazmuddīn as Prime Minister in the Central Government, though other factors, notably the food shortage, were operative here.

The Communists had no part in the rioting and their spokesmen

interpreted the events as simply a struggle between sections of the ruling classes, and unscrupulous power hungry groups, using the sentiments of the common people to serve their own ends.

One indirect result of the rioting would seem to be that some have come to feel that agreement on the definition and achievement of an Islamic State has become more difficult than ever. Opinion in some quarters is veering round to the view that the State should be modelled on the Indian one, with a 'secular' character in which no attempt would be made to identify it with any religious group claiming to interpret Islam. Thus the *Civil and Military Gazette,* on May 2nd, reversed its former policy in an editorial. "We ourselves feel driven to the conclusion that religion as commonly understood, has proved a force for disintegration, disruption, decay and stagnation and should be banished from human (political ?) affairs. . . . There is no denying the fact that Islam has proved the undoing of Muslims throughout the centuries—Islam as commonly understood and practised." However, the editorial went on to point out that true religion was indispensable to society and should leaven even the 'secular' state,—a religion of good will and brotherhood, not the kind of religion which lets loose "the frenzy of sectarianism." For others, however, the fear that Pakistan may be understood as in only a spiritual sense Islamic calls for redoubled efforts after more concrete—and in this view more valid—definitions of an Islamic state.

Majallat al-Azhar (Ramaḍān last p. 1158) reports its deep concern at the death sentence passed on al-Mawdūdī and gives the text of a telegram of protest sent by the head of the Muslim Brotherhood, al-Haḍaibī, who describes the sentence as a crime.

Theology in Education. There was much interest when in 1949 the Turkish Government approved the establishment of a Faculty of Theology in the University of Ankara, as part of its revision of the attitudes towards religion in education adopted by the Ataturk régime and its heirs. In July last the first class was graduated and assigned to various posts in accordance with lots drawn. Nineteen men were appointed to teach in Imam-Hatib schools under the Department of Public Instruction in eleven towns and cities. The six women graduates were appointed to Women's Teacher Training Colleges. An article in *Majallat al-Azhar,* meanwhile, (Ramaḍān 1372 pp. 984-7) pleads for far-reaching changes in the text-books and patterns of education in Al-Azhar so that the Azhar graduate may be better fitted to meet a new day and play his part in this generation.

Muslim Women in Malayan Politics. We are grateful to the Rev. R. A. Blasdell, of Singapore, for this note on the growth of agitation for feminine freedom in the realm of politics. Political activity for Malays, whether among men or women, was virtually unknown before the Second World War. There was a great lethargy manifested among them in political matters. Conditions were accepted as they existed, and the tendency was to allow the Legislative Councils of the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements to assume full responsibility for the management of political affairs. During the Japanese Occupation, the desire for nationalism was fanned among the Malays. Early in the period following the Occupation,

several political parties came into evidence among them, and these parties provided for organizations for the youth and for the *women and girls*, a situation unthought of before the war.

With the passing of the years, these organizations have grown in strength and power of expression. The women's organization has taken action on many subjects of a social nature which affect women and girls, among them, marriage customs and divorce. Their interest, however, has extended beyond the social field, and with the growing intensity of the independence movement, incorporating in it the right of free and universal elections, the women have come forward to demand not only recognition of their opinions in these matters, but also the right to vote and stand for election. In this movement they have been strongly opposed by the Muslim leaders of the country.

In Malaya, Muslim women have been witnessing revolutionary changes in the status of women in other groups. For instance, they have seen Chinese and Indian women casting their votes in the elections. More than that, they have seen Chinese and Indian women standing for election *and being elected.* This has had a tremendous effect upon Muslim women, particularly Malay women. They have demanded a similar right to participate in politics and even beyond that, to be elected. It was at this point that the religious authorities of the country intervened.

The Malay women in Malaya had no doubt already become informed about a similar situation existing in Egypt, giving rise to a long debate and the final issuance of a Fatwā by the Committee of Shaikhs of al-Azhar University. Early in the local debate, they cited the similar efforts of their Egyptian sisters, and the 'Ulamā' of Singapore supported the case against them by lengthy quotations from the al-Azhar Fatwā. There seem to have been two principal objections to women participating in political competition: (1) the activity is too strenuous for women to endure physically, and (2), the Qur'ān forbids the close association of the sexes required in political activities. The women, for their part, cited the strong dissent made in Egypt to the Fatwā by the former Minister of Education in Egypt, Dr. Mohd. Hasan al-Adzmari, who bravely stood up in opposition to the opinion of the al-Azhar shaikhs and delivered a clear argument based on the teachings and philosophy of Islam. Moreover, there is not unanimity of opinion among the 'ulamā' of Malaya. In opposition to the statement of the Singapore 'ulamā', a Qāḍī from one of the states says: "The women's organization has in no way contravened the religious law as far as politics is concerned, even though they associate closely with men, provided that their aims seek to promote public benefit and welfare." The editorial of a local paper says that many 'ulamā' in the country will agree with the Qāḍī. And finally, the leader of the women's organization says: "A country while trying to gain success and achieve a change cannot disregard or not recognize the sovereignty of half of its people." The debate is not finished, but up to date the women seem to be standing their ground with considerable support from the men.